

# IN THESE TIMES

"Turn 'em  
Bruce  
loose"  
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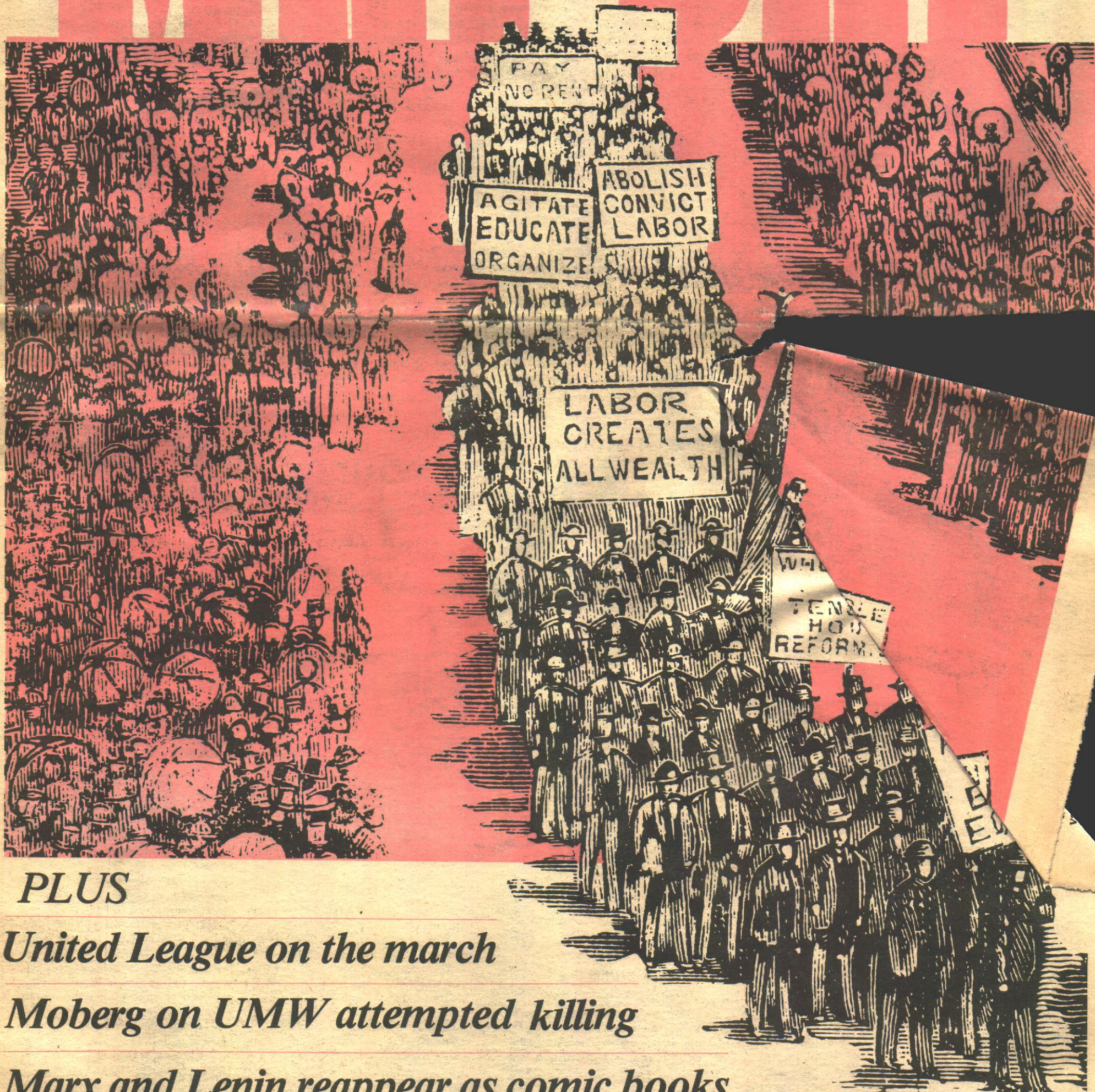


Vol. 3, No. 24

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70 Cents

# MAY DAY



**PLUS**

*United League on the march*

*Moberg on UMW attempted killing*

*Marx and Lenin reappear as comic books*



# THE INSIDE STORY



Rep. Parren Mitchell (D-MA).

## Conference on race relations recalls '60s mood

By Florence Levinsohn

What was most remarkable about the National Urban Symposium on Racial Harmony, held the weekend of April 19-22 in Chicago, was that it happened at all. Rep. Parren Mitchell (D-MD) said in his keynote speech, "I feel strange being here. I haven't attended a symposium on racial harmony in ten years. We haven't had one."

At a time when public funding for minority programs is being drastically reduced, when affirmative action programs are being broadly attacked, when the black working class is sliding further behind in income, when black unemployment is at staggering highs (the number of black families living in poverty rose by 35 percent between 1970 and 1975), and when segregation in most large cities remains almost at the level it was in the '60s, a conference on racial harmony seemed to sound a clarion call.

"Maybe it will work. Maybe it won't. But we've got to try," Mitchell told a banquet audience in a rousing speech reminiscent of the '60s. "Racism is deep, pervasive and systemic in this society," he said. "It's racism that keeps blacks concentrated in the poorest paying jobs and in segregated housing and in the ranks of the unemployed."

Referring to the massive changes since the '60s, Mitchell said that when the overt signs of racism came down, "We stopped our demonstrations. But we were wrong. For the mass of black Americans not of the chosen elite like those of us here tonight, life has not changed and is getting worse."

He pointed to the schisms that have arisen between the classes among blacks and between blacks and whites and called for cooperation. "I am still hopeful," he said, "that we can be united again, and with the support of white friends, gain the political and social parity that is our right."

The bankroll for the symposium was white, Bankers Life and Casualty Co., an insurance company that prides itself, according to vice-president for corporate affairs Gerald MacGuire, on its 19 percent minority middle

management and its 56 percent female workforce. But, as Thomas Wolfe wrote so wisely 50 years ago, you can't go home again.

About 40 percent of the 30 or so academics who led the symposium were white, but several of the most eminent whites who had promised to come dropped out. Racial harmony is one of their low priority items.

### All the rest were black.

The rest of the folks at the meeting were black. The 25 or so discussants who parried questions with the academics were black. The sponsoring Chicago State University, sent an all-black contingent. And a banquet, organized by Bankers to bring black and white business people, community group representatives and symposium participants together, was more than 80 percent black, though as many whites as blacks were invited.

And, while they enthusiastically applauded Mitchell's speech, they were, in all, a very subdued crowd. It was not the lively dinner normally hosted by such black organizations as the Urban League that are dedicated to enlarging black power. When the guests at the banquet were invited to come to the Sunday morning brunch to hear the recommendations of the symposium, they stayed home.

Racial harmony is clearly not a priority of white liberals in 1979. Nor did the possibility of solutions to the problems of their fellow blacks seem very promising to those who stayed home. They came out to hear Parren Mitchell and to eat a good dinner at the Conrad Hilton but more serious considerations would have to await another occasion.

Those heady days when blacks and whites met and marched together is clearly a thing of the past.

And the days of excitement and discovery of civil rights are gone too. As Columbia University professor Charles Hamilton, one of the earliest advocates of black power, said, "The conference is clearly a product of the late '70s. Ten years ago, it would have been much more lively, much more vitriolic. The language would have been a lot stronger."

The conference was indeed missing the liveliness of the '60s. The predominantly young black, middle class, well educated group were very cool. There was one dashiki. The absence of any reference to violence, for instance, Hamilton pointed out, "is a reflection of the '70s. Things are bad out there and they're gonna get worse, but no one even mentioned the threat of violence."

There was an undercurrent of dismay, expressed most strongly by one person who refused to be named. "This thing is a farce," he said. And several agreed with him. But in the eyes of most, it was not a farce but rather a sad comment on the state of the art of civil rights these days.

Not a little bewilderment could be found in the ambivalent race consciousness of the black participants, recognizing that they are part of a tiny elite who have made it while most of their fellow blacks are still mired in poverty.

### Dismay but not cynicism.

Despite their dismay, however, there was very little cynicism. Most thought the conference was worth having. Peter Parham, an aide to Sen. Ted Kennedy (D-MA) said that this was the first conference on race relations he had attended in five years. As for its impact, he said, "it will depend on the willingness of people to follow through."

A far cry from the '60s when such conferences were seen as the hope of the future, when every recommendation was looked to for enactment, when people were impatient with academic "rambling." The recommenda-

tions this conference made were clear reflections of the absence of excitement and high expectations. They were, also, if one cared to see, the reflection of the lessons of the '60s, that only major change will relieve the plight of the mass of blacks.

But nowhere in these recommendations were there any calls for major social change. They were the same old solutions: monitor the media to find out what is happening to the black image, pressure the government to spend more money on programs for the unemployed, create political coalitions to elect more black officials, create more pressure for school and housing desegregation.

Adding to the subdued mood that hung over this conference was the knowledge that the mass media have tended, even if quite unconsciously, to create a climate of opinion that works against helpful measures. Duke University professor William Hawley, one of the leading authorities on school desegregation, pointed out that his research indicates that school desegregation produces much more positive gains than the media and many in the social sciences have been willing to admit. Kids do learn more in integrated schools, he says, and racial harmony does prevail in many desegregated schools. The question is, Hawley says, not whether desegregation works but how to convince people that it does.

The conference created a nostalgia for the days when things were simple, when the complexities of race relations were not quite recognized. It increased an awareness of the difficulties that lay ahead in solving minority problems. For some few of us, it laid bare once again the fact that the best capitalism can do is to provide some of the niceties to a chosen few who will then be separated from those it has beaten down or ignored. ■

## Nader talks with Mayor Byrne

CHICAGO—After meeting with Jane Byrne, Chicago's mayor, Monday April 23, Ralph Nader told a press conference that he suggested to her that she look into the adequacy of Commonwealth Edison's evacuation procedures in the event of a Three Mile Island-type accident here. Nader reported that, although utilities are required by law to publicize their evacuation plans, they do not. He encouraged Byrne to support publication of evacuation procedures and periodic drills, "like fire drills," so that in the event of an accident at a nuclear power plant near Chicago an emergency plan could be carried out quickly and orderly, rather than waiting until the very last moment as they did at Three Mile Island.

"The Friday after the accident at Three Mile Island officials of the Nuclear Regulatory Commission recommended evacuation of the area," Nader said. "One reason the people were not evacuated was because the officials of General Public Utilities, the firm that owns Metropolitan Edison, operator of the Harrisburg, Pa., area nuclear power station, knew that the evacuation plans were a fraud."

Nader said Byrne acknowledged that "even though the state has primary authority if there is a nuclear accident in the Chicago area, in Chicago, the buck would stop at the mayor's desk."

Nader was in Chicago to launch a grassroots lobbying effort to convince Chicago members of Congress to support public financing of congressional elections and limitations on special interest contributions.

—Laura Cianci

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# Black judge enrages police and mayor

By John Kalish

NEW YORK

**J**UDGE BRUCE WRIGHT IS ON HIS lunch break. Friends and reporters jam his office on the fourth floor of New York City's criminal courts building. When the interviews are over, Judge Wright runs down four flights of stairs, out the court building and across Center Street where hundreds of people are chanting "Koch is bizarre, Bruce is all right."

"People have asked me why I make the statements I do. I make them because being black in America is a deeply moving experience and if it doesn't move your mouth to protest, you may as well not be alive."

After ten years on the criminal bench, Bruce Wright is doing what he has always done when he comes under attack: he is fighting back.

The latest round of controversy stems from Wright's decision to release a 30-year-old college student named Jerome Singleton without bail. Singleton was arrested on April 5 and charged with attempted murder. On the night of the attack, police officials said Singleton used a broken bottle to slash the throat of a white deputy cop named Robert Blodreau.

The gash came close to Blodreau's jugular vein and the *New York Post* printed a picture of the 63 stitches. The police later said a knife was used in the attack, but the police lab found no blood on Singleton's small pocket knife or on his clothes.

Singleton was reportedly beaten by police after his arrest.

Judge Wright said that because Singleton had no previous criminal record and had ties to the community, he should be released. The Patrolmen's Benevolent Association was outraged. (As long-time critics of Wright's bail policy, the PBA dubbed him "Turn 'em loose" Bruce").

PBA president Samuel DeMilia called for Wright's ouster immediately. Mayor Ed Koch called Wright's bail decision "bizarre" and said, "It demigrates our system of justice."

Koch said he would ask the Mayor's Committee on the Judiciary to investigate the incident. He said the investigation "will, without question, have an impact" on his decision to reappoint Judge Wright to another ten-year term. Wright's current term expires on Dec. 31, 1979.

The judge spoke publicly about the case for the first time before a group of students at Princeton University. Wright was born in Princeton and was once advised by the University's dean of admissions that "as a colored student he would not be happy at Princeton."

He told the students that the only purpose of bail is to insure a defendant's appearance in court. He also said police in New York "have a license to hunt down blacks and kill them with impunity." Police Commissioner Robert McGuire called the remarks "outrageous" and the PBA continued to call for Wright's removal.

While the police and much of the press attacked him, Judge Wright's allies began to mobilize. Rev. Herbert Daughtry, the leader of a militant city-wide group called the Black United Front, invited Wright to his church in Brooklyn to deliver the Easter sermon. The congregation gave Wright an enthusiastic reception. The following week the Legal Committee to Support Judge Bruce Wright was formed.

At a press conference in the moot court room of New York Law School (Wright's alma mater), the Committee warned that Mayor Koch's intervention will have a chilling effect on the judiciary. The committee consists of the National Conference of Black Lawyers, the National Lawyers Guild, the Association of Legal Aid Attorneys, the Center for Constitutional Rights, the New York Civil Liberties Union, the Harlem Lawyers Association, the

Bedford-Stuyvesant Lawyers Association, the Puerto Rican Bar Association and other groups.

Hope Stevens, of the National Conference of Black Lawyers, said, "The recent attacks against Judge Bruce Wright can only be characterized as blatant unmitigated racism. The crime of Judge Wright is his principled belief that the law must be applied fairly to all, whether rich or poor, black or white. But his ultimate crime is being a black man who is sensitive to the operations of institutional racism in this city; a black man who will not bend to the whim and fancy of the PBA or the mayor."

A day after Judge Wright released Jerome Singleton, a grand jury indicted him and a warrant was issued for his arrest. Singleton surrendered voluntarily and was sent to the city jail on Rikers Island. He was then released by another judge on \$2500 bail.

## Judge Wright explains action

**ITT:** When you released Singleton without bail, you said that's what was legally required of you.

**BW:** It's not very complicated. I released him in keeping with the laws of the state of New York, the advice and suggestions given by the American Bar Association, which as you know is certainly not radical chic. He was a young man who had never been convicted of any crime. He was a man who lived in the community all his life. He was a student. He had a family. There was no reason to impose bail. I asked the district attorney specifically, 'Do you know any reason why you believe this man will not come back when he's wanted in the court?' And the district attorney could not advance any reason. I saw no reason to impose bail. I thought it would be a useless gesture.

**The PBA has been a long-time opponent of yours. Were you at all surprised that they reacted the way they did in this case?**

I would have been surprised had they not reacted in that way.

**You're one of the few judges or public officials to come out and say how powerful the Police Department and the PBA are in New York City.**

I've said that about the police all over. Perhaps you saw the *New York Times* story about [Philadelphia Mayor Frank] Rizzo saying under oath there's no police brutality and yet a committee has found that there is and they're investigating the police in Philadelphia. Police are police.

This country has swung drastically to the right in the last few years and it's strange that with the end of the civil rights movement and the euphoria of the '60s, that swing should have come into prominence. I remember when New York was on the brink of financial disaster and sought help from the federal government and Gerald Ford, then president, said 'no,' but he added that the uniformed forces will never have to worry. That demonstrates how powerful the police are.

And it all stems from their propaganda and the fact that the public is now hysterical about crime in the streets. The popular law enforcement people these days are those who are harsh, cruel, and strict. The cause of rehabilitation has been abandoned all together.



Top: Judge Bruce Wright greets supporters outside Criminal Courts Building, New York City, April 19. Above: Wright gestures to crowd.

The police have dramatized a sense of heroism and bravery while minimizing brutality. Selecting me as a target exemplifies what Jimmy Breslin said a year ago, when I was under attack: the PBA needs a scapegoat and what better as a scapegoat than a black man in his fifties.

**You have said that a white police officer has never been convicted of murdering a black civilian in New York.**

I've heard lawyers say that no white police officer would ever be convicted for killing a black in Queens.... They might as well say that now about Brooklyn, since Brooklyn has suffered so many deaths at the hands of police officers. I find it difficult to believe that any white officer would be convicted for shooting down a black in New York.

**The NAACP and other groups have said that Mayor Koch's intervention in the Singleton case could have a chilling effect on the judiciary.**

I don't know, the judiciary is already so terribly conservative. You must remember that judges are selected from the ranks of lawyers, and lawyers are by nature conservative. They don't become radicals on the bench. Most judges—including myself—value their jobs at \$42,251 a year. Nobody wants to be penurious and have to work for a living. We'd all rather be on the public payroll.

I love being a judge. I love the work because I think it can be helpful to people. But I love freedom of speech as much as I love my job and perhaps more. We are a conservative lot. You'll notice our robes are never in jazzy colors. They're drab, funeral, worthy of the togas of undertakers.

**Singleton's lawyer said that he hates to see his client get tried before he gets**

**tried. Some observers feel that the mayor and the newspapers have denied Singleton his day in court. How do you think the press has covered this story?**

The *Daily News* and the *Post* have exercised freedom of the press to the extent that both are entitled to be referred to as yellow journalism. The *Post* has taken some facts out of context, has distorted other facts, has sought with the kind of ferocity of the *National Enquirer* or any other scandal sheet to sell papers. That's all right with me; I believe in freedom of the press. Ultimately, they will have to believe in my freedom to express my views. I never thought that the criminal justice system should be a secret. I think the more people who get interested in it, the more likely it is that we will have some of the reforms people want.

**Your term expires at the end of this year. If Mayor Koch reappoints you, will you serve another ten-year term?**

I certainly would. I love the work and I will in due course be submitting myself to the Committee on the Judiciary for its members to review my career and see whether or not I'm worthy of being recommended to the Mayor. I think I've been an excellent judge and there are many lawyers who think the same. If the Mayor wishes to reappoint a judge of experience and worth, I'm his candidate.

**And if you're not reappointed, what does the future hold for Bruce Wright?**

I hope it holds an honest job for a change. It's always distressing for people who have been on the public payroll to have to work for a living, but I will try. I made a living before I went on the bench and I expect to make a living after I get off, even if I have to sell my poems.



## IN SHORT

### Woman to head steelworker local

CHICAGO—A significant victory for women and the left in labor was won Thursday, April 26, when Alice Peurala, 51, a long-time steel worker at U.S. Steel Company, won the presidency of Local 65 of the United Steelworkers of America, one of the largest locals in the nation.

The first woman president of a basic steel local, Peurala has put in 26 years in a variety of jobs in the mills, starting in a "woman's" job and finishing as a mechanical equipment tester, a job never before given a woman.

She ran against two men, pulling 1,205 votes to their 1,168 and 1,077.

An avowed socialist, having been a red diaper baby, Peurala worked almost single-handed for years to push her local toward a left position on such issues as the Vietnam war, union leadership and women's rights.

In an interview the day following her election, Peurala told *ITT*, "I am really looking forward to being able to do a job in this union. There has not been the kind of basic work done here that needs to be done. The grievance committees have to fight the company to get decent working conditions in those plants. Sanitary conditions need to be improved."

"I did not win as a woman. I campaigned as a candidate who would do something about the conditions in that plant that affect 7,500 people—men and women."

At the plant gate, Peurala was greeted enthusiastically by fellow workers. One of them, after telling her, "I'm sure glad you won," turned to his friend and said, "She can handle it. You just watch."

(*ITT* will publish an extensive interview with Peurala in next week's issue.)

—Florence H. Levinsohn

### Women sue Detroit News

DETROIT—A group of present and former women employees of the *Detroit News* filed a suit in Federal District Court this month, alleging a variety of sex discrimination practices by the management.

The suit, *Butcher v. The Evening News Association* seeks \$10 million in compensatory damages and an unspecified amount in punitive damages.

Two current newsroom employees, Diane Dunn and Vivian Moore, brought a class-action suit asking that the paper treat women the same as men in its future hiring, salary, assignment and promotion policies and to offer to all former female employees "constructively discharged by virtue of said practices."

The editor of the *Detroit News*, Lionel Linder, said in response to the filing: "In my experience as managing editor, I've detected no existing discrimination by the *News*' management against women editorial employees in matters of assignment, promotion or salary."

—Laura Cianci

### Draft resister gets 30 days

BUFFALO—Judge John T. Curtin gave a token 30-day jail sentence to Bruce L. Beyer who fled the country in 1970 rather than serve a three-year jail term for an assault conviction stemming from his 1968 arrest on charges, since dropped, of draft evasion.

Judge Curtin vacated the original sentence in December of last year after finding that it was based on information in a pre-sentencing report that he found to be "highly prejudicial and inaccurate."

He imposed the 30-day jail term because "the defendant on his own chose

to ignore the court's order and take the law into his own hands. We can't have free speech if we have no respect for the law and the court's orders," the judge said.

Beyer, represented by former Attorney General of the U.S. Ramsey Clark, apologized for leaving the country and expressed his regret for the violence that occurred at the Buffalo Unitarian Universalist Church on Aug. 19, 1968. He added that his disrespectful conduct during his trial ten years ago was a result of his viewing the court and its proceedings as symbolic of those who were responsible for the war in Vietnam and the destruction of Southeast Asia.

Beyer spent seven and a half years in exile in Canada and returned to the U.S. voluntarily in October 1977. After serving his jail term in the Erie County Correctional facility, he plans to resume his struggle for a "just" amnesty and vigorously work to prevent the reenactment of the Selective Service System.

—Laura Cianci

### Harvard boycott

CAMBRIDGE—Monday, April 23, almost ten years to the day after a massive student strike shut down Harvard University to protest the college's Reserve Officer Training Corps program, between 50 and 60 percent of the student body boycotted classes here to protest the Harvard Corporation's refusal to sell its \$350 million holdings in banks and corporations doing business with South Africa. The students also demonstrated to show their support for the Afro-American Studies Department established in the wake of the '69 strike and now under administrative reevaluation.

The Coalition for Awareness and Action, a recently-formed multi-racial student group, presented the administration with a letter demanding divestiture of all the university's South African stock and the hiring of additional tenured faculty for Afro-American Studies (at present there is only one tenured position).

Students picketed morning classes in groups of 50 to 100 and then, after marching to dormitories along the Charles River, returned to Harvard Yard for the largest daytime demonstration the university has seen in recent years.

After two hours of speeches and songs the crowd gathered at Harvard's main administration building, chanting for a reply to the demands. Finally Harvard General Counsel Daniel Steiner appeared. "You cannot expect Harvard to act on

the basis of demands when there is not agreement," he said.

Mark Smith of the Coalition then told the crowd that the reply represented "excuses to protect the endowment and the ivory tower isolation of the university."

—Ellen Canterow



Fred Hampton

### New Panther trial ordered

CHICAGO—A full two years after District Court Judge Joseph Perry dismissed the FBI and members of the U.S. and Illinois state's attorney's offices from a \$47.7 million civil suit stemming from the December 1969 slayings of Black Panthers Fred Hampton and Mark Clark, the U.S. Court of Appeals has ordered a new trial.

In April 1977, Perry refused to allow the case to go to the jury and instead issued a directed verdict of innocent for federal and state defendants and former Cook County state's attorney Edward Hanrahan, who ordered the pre-dawn raid on Hampton's West Side apartment.

Perry's intervention came less than a week before the Chicago mayoral primary in which Hanrahan was a candidate. Two months later, Perry dismissed charges against the Chicago police officers who fired some 90 shots in the raid; ballistics reports could link only one bullet to the Panthers.

In its 122-page decision, the appellate court said that the plaintiffs' attorneys had established the existence of a conspiracy to eliminate the Panthers and to har-

ass survivors of the raid. The court also cited the FBI and U.S. Attorney's office for their continued refusal to turn over pertinent documents to the plaintiffs. The FBI withheld some 40,000 pages of evidence in the 18-month trial (the longest in federal court history), and Perry permitted the government to expunge material from documents based on defense claims that the records were not relevant.

In overturning Perry's decision, the court ruled that Chicago police defendant Daniel Groth, who requested the search warrant for the raid, must reveal the identity of an informant who, he says, told him that weapons were being stored in the apartment. During the trial, Perry had permitted the informant to go unnamed. Panther attorneys Jeffrey Haas and Flint Taylor had contended that Groth was lying about having an informant.

The court also vacated Perry's contempt citations against Haas and Taylor and released the plaintiffs from liability for almost \$1 million in legal fees for the defense that Perry had assessed against them.

While the plaintiffs still face considerable obstacles to gain restitution for the raid, the appellate court ruling at the very least vindicates Taylor's predictions at the conclusion of the last trial: "Judge Perry will be overruled and made a complete fool of, as he so richly deserves."

—Paul Engelman

### BU faculty wins strike

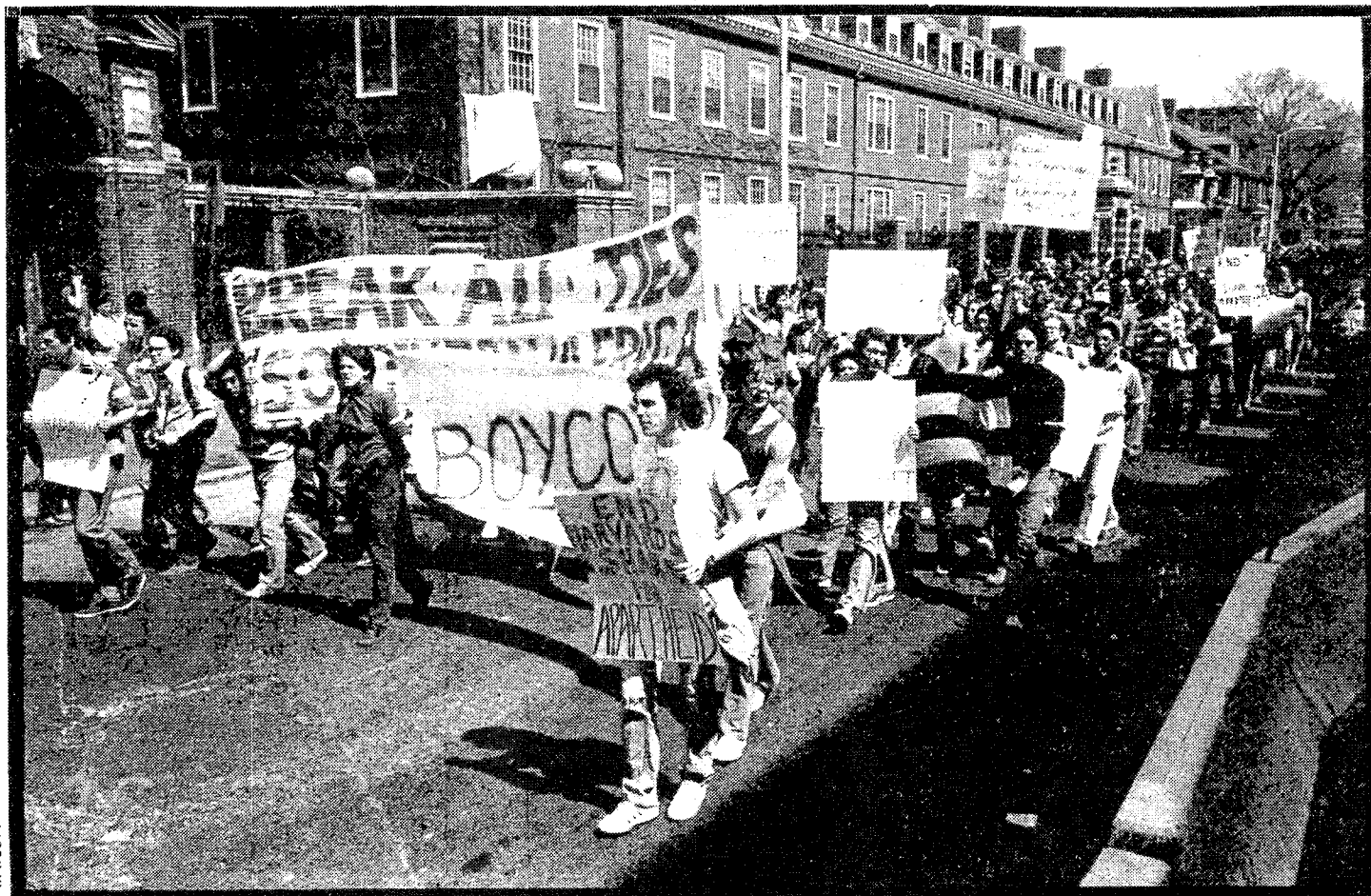
BOSTON—Boston University professors went back to work after a ten-day strike, a rare event in the history of private universities. They signed their contract between the American Association of University Professors and BU Friday, April 13.

The strike, in which nearly 500 professors participated, was called because the university trustees wanted to reopen negotiations to clarify what they called "ambiguous" language in the agreement related to issues of work load, contract renewal date and strikes.

"The contract dispute arose, in part," said Chris Rossell, a professor in the political science department, "because the faculty wanted to formalize, in the agreement, rights the university previously recognized only verbally."

"It was a big victory for the faculty," Rossell said in discussing the settlement. "We won on virtually every major point."

—Laura Cianci



Demonstration by Harvard students to convince the administration to divest funds with ties to South Africa.



# IN THE NATION

## CIVIL RIGHTS



United League leads march in Okolona, Miss.

## City jails 150 black marchers

By Robin Schulberg

OKOLONA, MISS.

**I**T'S WORSE THIS YEAR THAN LAST," remarked Herbert Trice, a member of the United League security force after the arrests that day—a daily occurrence in Okolona, Miss. "Last year things were peaceful. This year, they're trying to provoke us, trying to get someone hurt."

As he talked, Trice's eyes focused, not on the Okolona police with their rifles, but past them, to the black people leaving the city jail in pairs.

The entire United League march, 150 strong, on April 14, had been arrested an hour earlier for "parading without a permit." The mass arrest, which the League claims was illegal, was even more drastic than usual. The jailing, and the events precipitating it, led the League to decide that afternoon to concentrate their year-old freedom movement on "cracking" tiny Okolona.

Okolona is only ten miles from Tupelo, where the United League first gained nationwide attention for its confrontations with the Ku Klux Klan and its marches and boycotts. The Okolona boycott began last summer, demanding jobs for blacks and a voice in education.

Picketing resumed in March, after the school board fired most of the black teachers in the system. Since then, the League has taken an arrest a day, sometimes for charges like "swearing at a white woman." On March 31, at the last Okolona march, a white driver ran down Melvin Adams, also a League security marshal.

On April 14, however, the League feared not only the police, but state troopers, who Gov. Cliff Finch had ordered into town the day before.

Two blocks down the main street, 40 state troopers had formed a human barricade, rifles across their chests. Ten more stood in formation on the right side of the street. United League President Skip Robinson brought the march right up in front of them before he stopped.

A local policeman approached Herbert Trice. "You're all under arrest," he said. Trice held his ground: "For what?"

The officer swung his rifle butt into Trice's chest and dragged him off. People began yelling. In one motion, the trooper cocked their guns.

The sound cracked through the air and people were quiet. After another arrest and some negotiations, they turned the corner and headed out of town. But the police stopped them again, this time with a gun fired into the air.

Three young girls panicked and ran. Two officers, rifles in hand, pursued them. The crowd started to follow.

"Stop!" ordered Bone-Jacks Jackson, the Vietnam vet who coordinates neigh-

boring Alcorn County for the League. "Everyone over here in a circle."

People calmed down. A few minutes later, orders came from police to walk back to the city jail.

There was a new fence behind the jailhouse, a pen built three weeks ago just before the marches started. The police directed everyone in, men and women, old timers and youngsters, all together. It was a first arrest for many.

The state troopers were nowhere in sight. According to Justice Department observer Bob Anderson, they had been told to stay clear of the arrest because it was illegal.

"You remember this your whole life," Bone-Jacks wife Betty told her ten-year-old nephew inside the jail. "You made history."

That afternoon, Skip Robinson called on people to march every other Saturday

## WOMEN AT WORK

## Company says quit or be sterilized

By Joanne Foley

NEW YORK

**L**IKE THE THREE MILE ISLAND accident, the Willow Island incident illustrates the dangers of modern technology. But there a real disaster took place, although it affected only five people directly. And it was no accident.

At Willow Island, W. Va., Barbara Cantwell was regularly exposed to lead chromate dust as she mixed pigments at the American Cyanamid plant. She thought the company represented progress because it was one of the few employers in the depressed area that paid well.

Then Cantwell, a 31-year-old divorced mother of two, and four other women faced a cruel choice when the company limited pigment work to men and non-fertile women. Cyanamid said that the lead there could harm fetuses; the women faced demotion to lower paid janitorial jobs.

They offered to practice contraception carefully or to absolve the company of responsibility for possible fetal damage. Finally, the five reluctantly had themselves sterilized as American Cyanamid's personnel director suggested.

Willow Island is simply the most widely publicized example of how some companies are responding to the reproductive hazards faced by women workers. Coerced sterilization cases have also been reported in California, Illinois and Canada. They may become still more common as increasing numbers of women move into industrial production jobs. Alarmed at that possibility, a broad array of progressive forces gathered last week at District 65 headquarters in New York for a conference on reproductive rights in the workplace.

"This issue gives us the potential for a working alliance between women's groups, unions and environmental groups," said Dr. Wendy Chavkin, an occupational safety expert.

Two hundred fifty activists attended the conference, sponsored by CARASA (Committee for Abortion Rights and Against Sterilization Abuse), CESA (Committee Against Sterilization Abuse), NY CLUW (Coalition of Labor Union Women) and NYCOSH (Committee on Occupational Safety and Health).

### Trade unionists, feminists meet to fight new health hazards that are threatening women in the workplace.

"Women can be coerced into sterilization whenever they're economically vulnerable," explained Dr. Helen Rodriguez-Trias, a pediatrician. She traced the history of sterilization in Puerto Rico, noting that it began to rise as industrialization came to the island in the 1940s and finally extended to fully one-third of all women of childbearing age.

Workplace sterilization is an issue that affects men, too, although no male workers have so far been coerced into getting vasectomies. However, some have become sterile after exposure to chemicals on the job. In Virginia, working with kepone was found to sterilize men; DBCP (dibromochloropropane) was found to have the same effect in California. Several speakers called for better regulations to protect men from hazards to reproduction. Dr. Vilma Hunt, a professor of environmental health at Pennsylvania State University, said, "Almost any substance that affects the reproductive abilities of women will affect men as well."

Companies have largely ignored the dangers to male workers while concentrating on the dangers to women who might get pregnant. Their real concern is

in Okolona. Clint, the retired civil servant who heads up the Okolona picketing, lined up volunteers for Monday picket duty. In addition, the League is suing the city of Okolona for the arrests.

This kind of response to the city is typical of the United League. April 13, Herbert Trice was sentenced to 90 days in jail, two years suspended sentence and three years probation on a charge stemming from an August 4, 1978, Tupelo picket line. April 14, out on appeal, he was marching in Okolona.

In Lexington, Miss., the League is in court now, fighting a \$392,000 merchants' law suit for "disruption of trade." The suit was filed in response to a successful boycott. As the case goes before the judge, the League is planning more marches in Lexington.

Over the last year, the United League has demonstrated their viability and staying power. They won an affirmative action plan in city hiring from Tupelo mayor Clyde Whitaker. They beat charges filed with the federal government against Northern Mississippi Rural Legal Services for its legal aid to the movement. And they are leading boycotts in five Mississippi towns: Tupelo, Okolona, Lexington, Canton and Indianola.

They are becoming a threat to the Mississippi power structure. Law enforcement agencies, judges, businessmen and government officials have joined the Klan in openly attacking them.

Last September, Skip Robinson warned his people, "Who knows how long it will take to change things." He repeats these words now. Yet he always adds, "But ours is the kind of movement that will never die."

to guard against lawsuits from women who might bear malformed infants, several speakers explained. This specter of fetal damage often results in the exclusion of women from jobs, particularly where the work is well paid.

This pattern is most commonly seen in the chemical industry where women have only recently begun to get jobs in large numbers, increasing from a handful a few years ago to 260,000 today.

"Why are they suddenly worrying about jobs that women have only just begun to move into?" asked Dr. Hunt. "Operating room personnel such as nurses and aides also have increased risks of miscarriages and birth defects, but women aren't being thrown out of the operating room."

Conference participants shared strategies for future organizing as well as tips on how individual workers can protect their reproductive rights in the workplace. NYCOSH's Dave Michaels advised: "If you don't have a union, get one. Unorganized workers can't do anything. Then you should get busy setting up a health and safety committee."

The national "Right to Know" campaign may soon place another self-protective weapon in workers' hands. In 1977, five COSH groups realized that what workers didn't know could hurt them very badly, so they started a petition campaign demanding access to workplace hazard data, employee medical records and generic names of substances handled. Now supported by several unions and 50,000 signatures on petitions, the "Right to Know" is also facing heavy opposition from the Chambers of Commerce and business groups. According to Jim Moran of PhilaPOSH, a final ruling on workers' right to see their own medical records is expected soon from OSHA.

Additional information about the "Right to Know" campaign is available from PhilaPOSH, 1321 Arch St., Rm. 201, Philadelphia, PA 19107.





Jon Appel

## IMMIGRATION

# Mexican leftist denied asylum in U.S.

By John S. Appel

**H**ECTOR MARROQUIN, 25-year-old Mexican student leader, trade unionist, socialist and political refugee, has been ordered to leave the U.S. by immigration judge James R. Smith in Houston, Tex. If he is not out of the country by May 10, said Smith, he will be deported back to Mexico.

Smith's ruling came on April 11, six days after Marroquin's deportation hearing on April 3-5. Extensive testimony was presented on political oppression in Mexico and the danger that Marroquin would face if he were returned to Mexico. Marroquin had filed an appeal for political asylum with the Immigration and Naturalization Service. While in Chicago recently, Marroquin was interviewed by **IN THESE TIMES**.

Marroquin has been living in the U.S. without a visa or resident permit since he fled Mexico in 1974. At the deportation hearing, he explained that the Mexican police claim he was wounded in the shoul-

der in a gun-battle in Monterrey in June 1974—two months after he left Mexico. The Mexican police also claim that he participated in an armed robbery of a bakery in Monterrey Aug. 19, 1974, when he was in a hip-to-toe cast in a Houston hospital, recovering from injuries from an automobile accident.

On Feb. 9, the *Washington Post* noted increasing support for Marroquin and observed that "the case has become an international *cause celebre*." Recently Marroquin went on a national tour to publicize his case.

Marroquin was born and grew up in Matamoros. "When I was eight years old, my uncle—who was a Matamoros police officer—beat a seven-year-old child to death," he says. "The kid was caught stealing apples from my uncle's house. The authorities simply transferred him to a different city—and that only because the child's father was a reporter and the case became a scandal. Two other people died from injuries resulting from torture by my uncle in other incidents. This was my first exposure to police lack of respect for basic democratic rights."

Describing his radicalization, Marroquin said he had just begun his last year of preparatory school, the Mexican equivalent of high school, in October 1968, "when the news arrived that the government had carried out a horrible massacre against a peaceful demonstration of thousands of people in Tlatelolco Plaza in Mexico City. Hundreds had been gunned down in cold blood."

"Starting from this massacre, and from the situation in which I had lived since the age of 12, I began to feel there had to be a better social system."

Due to a rapidly growing international protest campaign over alleged human rights violations in Mexico, the Mexican government recently mounted an investigation under the direction of Attorney General Oscar Flores Sanchez. The official report, released in February, concluded that no political prisoners have "disappeared" in Mexico.

Sanchez denied the persistent reports of the existence of secret jails where detainees are tortured and denied the existence of a special anti-guerrilla force

*Continued on page 8.*

## U.S. immigration policy reveals political bias

While most Americans pride themselves on the nation's humanitarian traditions, holding to the philosophy symbolized by the Statue of Liberty, it has long been clear that some of the "tired and poor" are welcome and others are not. And though successive administrations have publicly committed the U.S. to help all those escaping tyranny, willingness to accept political refugees has hinged on the relationship with the country being fled. If those who beg asylum are fleeing a nation labeled unfriendly (usually socialist), they are immediately accepted, since the government is defined as oppressive. If it belongs to the friendly category, however, asylum is most often denied, since the oppression is no longer so apparent.

When the persecution is flagrant, as in Chile, Argentina, the Philippines, and elsewhere, the individual's politics become critical, since immigration laws specifically exclude terrorists, criminals and communists—and socialists do little better. Thus the decision on Hector Marroquin is no surprise. And though INS press officer Vernon Jervis insists that Marroquin's politics had nothing to do with the decision—claiming that even communists have been granted asylum in the U.S.—the record shows otherwise. More candid, Daniel Kahn, the INS prosecutor on the Marroquin case, told the *Houston Post* that "The U.S. does not grant asylum to

communists, and Marroquin admitted he's a Marxist."

Figures from the last few decades speak for themselves. About 800,000 Eastern Europeans were accepted after World War II as they ran from communism. But in 1938, at the height of Hitler's persecution of Jews, trade unionists and socialists, only 19,500 out of 139,000 who applied were admitted (a figure 10,000 below the quota for German immigrants).

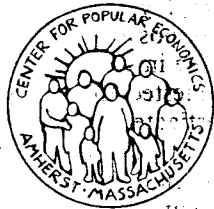
The Eastern European were followed by:

- 38,000 Hungarians, after the Soviet invasion in 1956
- 29,000 East German exiles, Dutch nationals and Indonesian planters who fled the growing nationalist movement in Indonesia
- 650,000 Cubans (at a cost of over \$1 billion)
- 1,300 Ugandans, after Gen. Idi Amin expelled 30,000 from the country
- Since 1975, the government has admitted:
  - 225,000 Southeast Asians, most of whom are Vietnamese
  - 200 Lebanese
  - 1,866 Latin Americans, most of whom are Chileans and a small number of Argentinians, Uruguayans and Bolivians
  - 45,000-50,000 Soviet and Eastern European Jews

—Barbara Koeppel

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## LABOR

# UMW board member ambushed

By David Moberg

**I**T WAS AROUND 1 O'CLOCK IN THE morning when Bill Lamb pulled out of his hometown, the tiny "coal camp" called Georgetown, Ohio, and headed his red Ford Fiesta down Route 250 toward Washington, D.C. He wanted to be sure to arrive in time for the start of the United Mine Workers executive board meeting. He was fighting UMW president Arnold Miller's recent—and second—attempt to remove him from the executive board, and his case was first on the agenda.

He faced a long drive, but he wanted to economize since he had been out of work recently. Besides, it was just like Bill Lamb to save money: when he was on the executive board he'd pay many of his hotel, traveling and other union expenses out of his own pocket. "I made \$24,000 a year, twice what I made in the mines," he explained. "Our union's not in too good financial shape and besides I didn't take this job to make money."

But his failure to submit expense reports for items he paid himself was one of a number of recordkeeping and financial charges that gave Miller the opportunity to force him off the executive board. It was not a coincidence that Lamb, a onetime supporter of Miller and a stalwart of the original Miners for Democracy movement, had since broken with Miller and become in many eyes the leading voice of opposition within the union.

Only a few miles from home, in a desolate stretch of highway through country heavily pocked by strip mines, Lamb approached Round Bottom Hill, where he saw a man standing next to a light-colored car with its trunk lid up and waving his flashlight in apparent distress. Bill pulled up about 20 feet behind the parked car, got out and, as he walked forward, started to say, "What's your problem?"

The next thing Bill Lamb remembers is that "I woke up on a gravel road. My left shoulder was burning like it was on fire. I thought maybe I'd better get down to the hospital." So much blood was pouring from his bullet wound, which cut an artery, that Lamb didn't even realize the blood on his pants leg came from a separate bullet wound there.

He managed to pull off the old "strip pit" road and find his way back to Route 250. "I just kind of drove automatic," he now recalls. "I woke up at Mt. Pleasant and I decided to go to Mel [Martin's]—he's one of my best buddies—and I nearly scared his wife to death. I guess there was a lot more blood than I thought."

Now out of the hospital, Lamb still can't remember more. Sheriff's investigators aren't sure whether he was shot on Route 250 or somewhere else. It appears that the gun was fired from fairly close range, but investigators have no good leads about who was involved. The problem is not that Lamb and his friends can't guess who would want to shoot him; it's that they can think of too many people.

"I've given a lot of thought to who might have shot me," Lamb said in a telephone interview from his current safe retreat. "I just don't know. I've stepped on so doggone many toes in this union, the companies, even some organized crime."

Some of Lamb's friends name Arnold Miller or his supporters as the prime suspects, but Lamb says, "I can't absolutely point the finger of blame at Miller. I don't believe he's that vicious. The coal operators can be that vicious though, even if they put fancy suits on. It could have been someone wanting to keep turmoil going in the union. There's a damn good possibility it could be industry-related. I've proceeded to alienate the coal operators. I took what you'd call a rather firm stand against the last contract. There are just too damn many suspects."



Mineworker president Arnold Miller (right) and coal industry representative Joseph Brennan sign agreement.

## Bill Lamb, a key opponent of Arnold Miller, was warned that he better take along a bodyguard if he drove to the UMW meeting. Some dissidents suspect Miller was behind Lamb's shooting.

Some of Miller's supporters have even added another suspect to the list: Bill Lamb—shooting himself to gain sympathy.

Lamb's associates believe that the man on the highway—a slender 30-year-old white with dark hair—may have had an accomplice, but they are convinced it was—as Martin, a district 6 executive board member, says—"deliberately laid-out and planned." On the weekend before the scheduled trip to Washington, Monday, April 23, Lamb received a call warning him that if he planned on making the trip he should have "protection" or a "bodyguard."

There are other suspicious shards of potential evidence: inquiries about Lamb's home and family by an unidentified man in a car with Michigan plates in late February, theft of union financial documents from Lamb's car two months ago, increasing incidents of Miller's use of international organizers to intimidate dissidents at all levels in the union.

Also, until late Sunday night the district board members—many of whom had opposed Lamb's recent candidacy for the district's seat on the international executive board—had planned to go to Washington to support him. Then, for a variety of reasons, the majority of them backed out on the trip.

Whatever the confusion about who was gunning for Lamb, his supporters, such as Tony Bumbico, a local union officer, say, "We don't think they intended to kill him. We feel it was a strong warning, a more overt step toward intimidating people." The case is especially troubling to the heirs of Miners for Democracy, since their movement grew out of the assassination of Joseph "Jock" Yablonski by gunmen under orders from then UMW president Tony Boyle.

Lamb, 44, was elected to the international executive board in 1977 after a term as district secretary-treasurer and three terms as a local president at the huge Egypt Valley mine of Consolidated Coal.

District 6, covering all Ohio and part of West Virginia, has 16,000 active members and is the second largest district in the union. It was the birthplace of Miners for Democracy and has continued to be a center of rank-and-file pressure for reform. Although Lamb had supported Yablonski and then Miller, he criticized the 1974 contract for setting up two separate pension schedules and then led the opposition to the 1977 contract that resulted in two "no" votes from the miners. He also organized huge caravans of strikers to block shipments of non-union coal in eastern Kentucky.

Lamb has frequently raised questions about the union's financial soundness. He attacked the use of dues money to bail out the Anthracite Coal Pension Fund, charging that its problems were due to inadequate employer contributions and that there was possible involvement of organized crime in the operation of the Fund. He requested the Department of Labor to investigate it.

Lamb's gut democratic trade unionist instincts have clashed with established interests in the union—and outside of it. He has campaigned for sending more dues money back to the locals and districts, for reducing staff expense accounts and electing all international organizers (who are now appointed by the international president), for more safety representatives and for election of safety and political action representatives. Some critics say he even wants to elect the telephone operator.

"I've stopped short of the telephone operator, but not much short," he says. "I'm opposed to the patronage system. I think the coal miners ought to have the right to elect anybody who represents them, just as the public does."

Lamb's philosophy of unionism is equally blunt and simple: "I just try to work for the guys in the mines. They're the guys who elect you."

"My disagreement with Miller," he explains, "is that he has totally turned

his back on democracy and local autonomy. That's really the big thing. The second is that he's been totally irresponsible financially."

Miller didn't like the criticism. Last August Lamb arrived at an executive board meeting and discovered that he'd been removed on various financial charges. He went back to the mines, waiting for a new election. But even though he was nominated by more than the required number of locals, he—unlike his two opponents, one of whom was supported by Miller—was unable to campaign since his employer refused in an unprecedented move to recognize his candidacy as legitimate union business.

Outspent and outcampaigned, Lamb nevertheless won re-election March 1 by a wider margin than his original victory. Then, on April 11, Miller suspended him for the same charges. Lamb had an offer to make when he was heading to Washington last week that some observers feel the executive board would have had a hard time rejecting. He requested that the record-keeping requirements for officers be spelled out clearly (they aren't now), that \$500 a month be taken from his salary and put into an escrow account up to the disputed amount of \$5,088.18, and that a Washington, D.C., federal judge appoint an arbitrator to decide the case and the disposition of the money in escrow. Lamb would be seated immediately on the board to restore representation to his district.

Some dissidents within the union may be intimidated by Lamb's shooting—even if it was not a result of internal union politics—but Lamb himself intends simply to be a little more careful. He still won't carry a gun or retain a bodyguard, he says. He will keep fighting for "self-government," "autonomy," and election of all union officials—including a proposed new post of chief negotiator to take bargaining out of Miller's hands if the recall plan now stalled in the courts fails.

"I kind of think I was singled out 'cause I got an awful big mouth and I'm accustomed to using it," Lamb says. "I got a right to say what I want to say and I'm going to say it." Despite his wounds, his mouth won him at least one victory last week. The international executive board canceled its plans to have a convention in Florida after Lamb had criticized meeting in a state that had enacted a right-to-work law but had not passed the equal rights amendment. Besides, Lamb, the loyal offspring of a south Ohio coal town, insists that the UMW has no business meeting there since "there aren't any coal mines in Florida."



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## Deportation

Continued from page 6.

known as the White Brigade. But the *New York Times* (Feb. 9) noted that senior Mexican officials privately admit the existence of the Brigade, an elite corps formed in 1977 to combat ultra-leftists.

The investigation was partly the result of efforts by the National Committee to Defend Political Prisoners, the Politically Persecuted, "Disappeared," and Exiled, a non-partisan group in Mexico founded by Rosario Obarra de Piedra, the mother of Jesus Piedra who was accused in January 1974 of the same murder Marroquin is accused of.

In April 1975 Jesus was arrested, tortured and taken to Military Camp Number One in Mexico, a secret camp where many political prisoners are incarcerated. He was last seen alive about two years ago.

Piedra testified at Marroquin's hearing for almost five hours on his first-hand knowledge of political activists and mem-

bers of their families who had been kidnapped by the White Brigade, tortured, and sometimes killed. She testified that the Mexican authorities sometimes torture children in front of their parents in order to force the parents to confess to crimes that they did not commit.

When asked if things have improved in Mexico since the amnesty was passed in September, she said that, if anything, they have gotten worse. Activities of the White Brigade have not slowed down since September, she said, and the amnesty was a cosmetic measure to improve the government's image and curtail the activities of Piedra's committee.

On Thursday, April 5, the final day of Marroquin's hearing, Roger Rudenstein, executive director of the Political Rights Defense Fund, testified about the FBI's activities in Mexico, beginning in the early 1960s.

Rudenstein said that a year ago he had obtained FBI documents pertaining to its secret operations in Mexico. The documents established that contrary to previously released information, the FBI's Counter Intelligence Program (COINTELPRO), was not limited to the U.S. The Mexican arm of COINTELPRO, called Border Coverage Program, or BOCOV, focused on plans to disrupt and discredit the labor, peasant, student and socialist movements in Mexico.

He analyzed a separate file of documents establishing that the FBI in Mexico has had Marroquin under surveillance since 1968. In the undeleted sections of the file on Marroquin, he noted, there is not a single reference to illegal activity by him.

Discussing his INS hearing, Marroquin said this is a political case that has a lot to do with U.S. relations with Mexico, in particular with investments in basic raw materials, basic industry, the petrochemical industry, and with a regime that protects the interests of these corporations.

"So this is a political decision: whether or not they are going to cover up these violations of human rights. They are covering up, which means that support for this regime is more important than human rights or individuals. If I am eventually granted political asylum it will be only because of the support of the American people."

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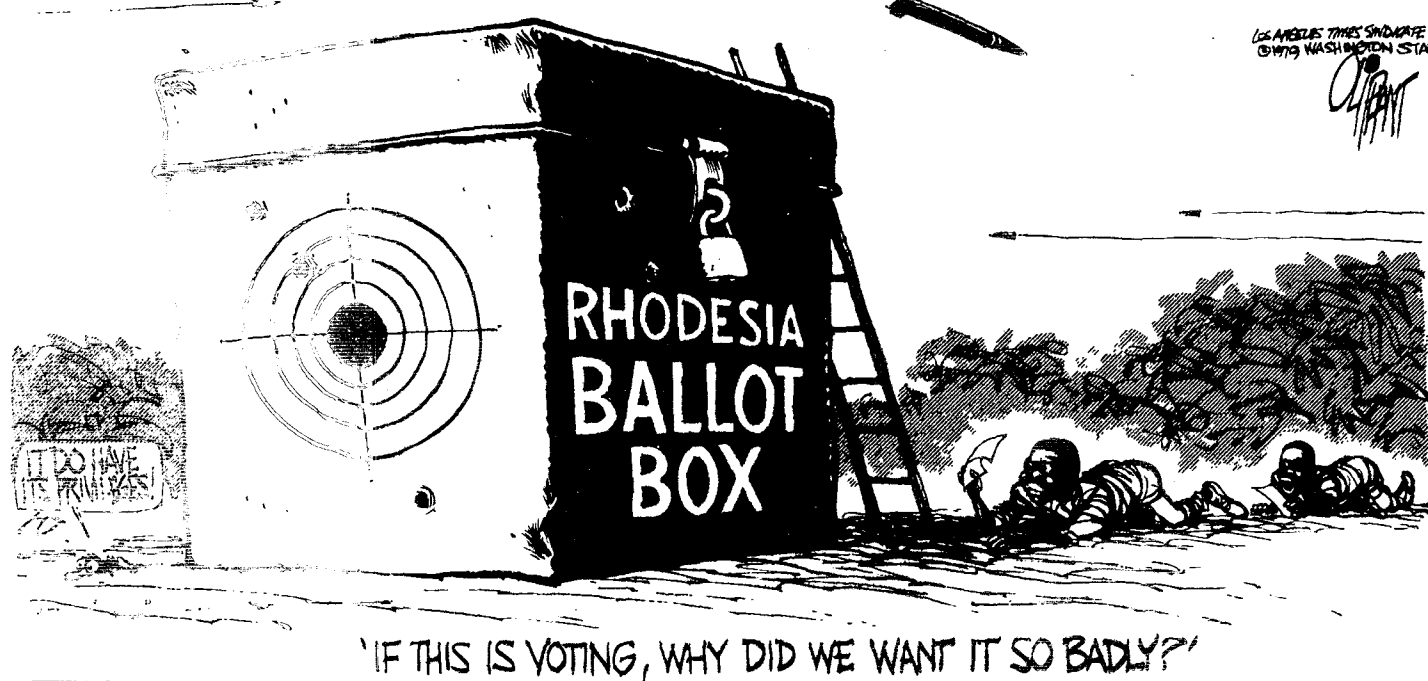
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# IN THE WORLD

## ZIMBABWE-RHODESIA



'IF THIS IS VOTING, WHY DID WE WANT IT SO BADLY?'

# Muzorewa succeeds Smith but Smith the real winner

By Robert Manning

**R**HODESIA HAS A STRANGE idea about democracy, but nonetheless, the results of Ian Smith's recent "internal settlement" elections are going over big on Capitol Hill and pose a major challenge to Carter's ill-fated Africa policy. One might think that in a case where a nation is under martial law, where half a million voters live under the gun in barbed-wire enclosed "protective villages" (modeled after U.S. strategic hamlets in Vietnam), where 100,000 troops were mobilized to usher 2.9 million voters to the polls, where private armies of politicians herd thousands to the ballot box, where voters are not even registered, and where whites comprising 3 percent of the population vote twice—once for white seats in parliament and once for black seats—one could not seriously entertain the idea that such elections would be labelled "free and fair."

Those were the circumstances of Rhodesia's elections, which, according to outgoing Prime Minister Ian Smith, had a 63.9 percent turnout at the polls over the five-day protracted voting period, April 17-21.

It is difficult to estimate how much intimidation and coercion were responsible for the relatively large turnout. Smith had previously said that if there were a 20 percent turnout that would provide

American right-wingers, supported by Bayard Rustin and observers from the American Conservative Union, will now open a drive to convince Carter to lift UN-imposed sanctions against Rhodesia.

sufficient ammunition for his public relations efforts to sell British and American conservative politicians his version of what is somewhat euphemistically called "one-man, one-vote" majority rule. The two leading black candidates for prime minister, Methodist Bishop Abel Muzorewa and Rev. Ndabaningi Sithole, have their own private armies numbering 4,000 6,000. Reports from on-the-spot observers said that in many rural areas these private armies came and rounded people up at gunpoint to be taken to the polls.

In two of the eight electoral districts, the voter turnout exceeded 100 percent of those eligible to vote, raising serious questions about the legitimacy of the whole affair. Even Rev. Sithole, in an action smacking of sour grapes after it was clear that he had only won 14 of 100 seats, said that there were "gross irregu-

larities" in the voting and called for an official inquiry.

### American observers.

Smith and his black partners, however, can now claim a majority voter turnout. Perhaps many were weary of a war now costing the government \$1.5 million a day and leaving an African dead every hour, according to government figures. Or perhaps it was the massive radio-TV and leafletting campaign by the government, mixed with physical coercion, that accounted for the turnout, but at any rate, the result is that Bishop Muzorewa, whose following is more as a cleric than a politician, will be installed in early June as the first black prime minister of what will be called "Zimbabwe-Rhodesia."

Two teams of private American observers—one from the American Conservative Union (ACU), a cornerstone of the "new right," and another from Freedom House (which has reportedly been a conduit for CIA funds), led by aging former civil rights leader Bayard Rustin—were pleased as punch with the elections. ACU representatives billed the elections "free and fair" and rushed home to throw their weight behind the Rhodesian lobby's effort to get the Carter administration to lift UN economic sanctions against Rhodesia. Freedom House issued a statement calling the elections "a significant advance toward majority rule," but qualified its endorsement by noting the security measures and claiming that martial law had "a coercive as well as reassuring effect."

Conservative arguments in favor of Smith's internal settlement have carefully focused on process rather than substance. The issue was never whether ballots were properly placed in a ballot box. The gut issue is who shall govern an independent Zimbabwe and in whose interest? The Patriotic Front guerrilla alliance, led by ZANDU's Robert Mugabe and ZAPU's Joshua Nkomo, has dismissed the elec-

tions as fraudulent by definition and rejects the internal settlement as a means to perpetuate white domination. They have vowed to continue their guerrilla efforts to achieve genuine independence. The UN also called the elections "null and void," and there is little chance for UN recognition of the new regime.

### South African support.

To the surprise of just about no one, apartheid South Africa was first to herald the elections and the new regime with its Foreign Minister Pik Botha calling on the West to recognize the internal settlement as a monument to peaceful change. Well-informed sources suggest that South Africa has decided to step up military and economic aid to the new regime. This may help explain Ian Smith's marked increase in bombing attacks on Zambia and Mozambique in recent weeks. South African strategy appears to be to back Muzorewa in the hope that by the end of the year he can weather the storm.

What has been overlooked in the controversy over the elections is the actual content of the new regime's constitution. It was passed in January by white voters only, and the total vote for the constitution—which determines the shape of majority rule—amounted to less than 1 percent of the total population.

The terms of the constitution guarantee white privilege. Whites have 28 of the 100 seats in parliament, though outnumbered by Africans 29 to one. Whites also comprise one-fourth of the cabinet (it is rumored that Smith will stay as Minister of Law and Order) and control the military, the police, civil services, and the justice system. The constitution requires 78 votes to pass any legislation. Whites can therefore veto any African parliamentary move aimed at fundamental social change, such as redistributing land, which is now divided 50 percent for whites and 50 percent for Africans, with whites controlling all the most fertile land and resources.

### War goes on.

But the bottom line, as one State Department official pointed out, is simply that the internal settlement will not stop the war. America's UN ambassador Andrew Young recently said that if the U.S. lifts sanctions on Rhodesia it would be "a passport to the Soviet Union in southern Africa." Tens of thousands of Africans already had previously demonstrated their preference by fleeing to refugee camps in neighboring Zambia, Mozambique or Botswana, or by joining the guerrillas—a significantly more substantial commitment than simply voting.

As the administration is in the midst of trying to sell the SALT agreement to a skeptical Congress, Carter's ability to hold firm against right-wing pressure is seriously doubted by many observers on Capitol Hill. The U.S. position still holds out for calling for roundtable negotiations to arrange UN-sponsored elections. But now Carter will soon be forced to choose between the Patriotic Front and the internal settlement. If Carter does not lift sanctions by mid-June then Congress may pass legislation to lift sanctions anyway. It would be the litmus test of Carter's beleaguered Africa policy.

If the U.S. lifts sanctions, it would be the first step on the road to formal recognition of Smith's settlement and perhaps a major tilt toward the white minority regimes in southern Africa. Whatever credibility Carter and Young have established with an increasingly impatient black Africa would, as one State Department official admitted, "fly right out the window. We might as well close up shop."

This is the dilemma facing the administration in coming weeks as Ian Smith appears once again to have demonstrated that he ranks among the top tacticians in global politics. But the outcome may be a deepening regional conflict, with the U.S. once again on the wrong side. ■

## GREENLAND

# Danes grant home rule

Greenland is the largest island in the world with the relatively smallest population—30,000. This highly strategic area between East and West has belonged to Denmark since 1721, but was fully incorporated in the Danish state only this century.

A colony, economically, socially and politically, Greenland has had a high standard of living per capita, accompanied by enormous social and cultural problems. Alcoholism, criminality and extremely high suicide rates are only a few examples.

Political movements have emerged during the last ten years. The largest of them—Siumut—has demanded the return of native rights to the land and home rule. A more Danish-oriented party—Atassut

—has emphasized the connections between Greenland and Denmark.

Despite widespread resistance in the Danish parliament, home rule for Greenland was passed last year and is scheduled to start on May 1. All social institutions will be under Greenland's jurisdiction in the future, although most property is in Danish hands.

The Siumut Party has been criticized for a "sell-out" policy by a new independence movement and a Workers Party, but it won the majority of the seats in the new Greenland parliament in April 4 elections. The party advocates native property rights and withdrawal from the European community.

—Martin Burcharth  
Copenhagen



## ISRAEL AND THE ARABS

*Simha Flapan is Director of the Israeli Peace Research Society and editor of New Outlook, the Israeli monthly journal dedicated to the study of the problems in the Middle East and Israeli-Arab relations. He is a member of the National Secretariat of MAPAM, the socialist Israeli political formation aligned with the Labour Party.*

*Editors James Weinstein and M.J. Sklar spent an afternoon with him recently when he visited Chicago on a tour of the U.S. The following are excerpts of their interview with him. Flapan is the author of Zionism and the Palestinians, published this year by Barnes & Noble Books, New York. A subscription to New Outlook is available at 8 Karl Netter St., Tel Aviv, Israel.*

**Do you think the Egyptian-Israeli treaty was a good thing?**

It's a very important step forward and it could become a breakthrough. The treaty has initiated a new era of Israeli-Arab relations, but without a solution of the Palestinian question it will become defective. If the Palestinian issue is not solved it is doubtful whether Egypt will be able to proceed with full normalization of relations with Israel.

The onus on further developments will be placed on Egypt, and then it will be a situation of no peace and no war. And at the same time Israel will still be in possession of the Golan Heights and the West Bank.

As a matter of fact, this concept had been entertained by Israeli policy makers since 1968. Moshe Dayan [now Israel's Foreign Minister] said then that we can have full peace if we return all the territories, but this is too heavy a price: better to have a situation of no peace and no war. [Israel's Prime Minister Menachem] Begin faced violent opposition in his own party against the treaty. He was able to persuade them to vote for it only with this argument: that he will not budge on Israel's rights to settlements in the West Bank.

**Is it conceivable that Israel might eventually negotiate with the PLO?**

The present government, certainly not. But a change of attitude is developing in Israel regarding the Palestinians. There is strong opposition to the "autonomy" policy from two different directions. One comes from Begin's own coalition; the other from the Labor Party. But both are saying the same thing: that autonomy could lead to an independent Palestinian state sooner or later, and that's why they oppose it. Those who share Begin's political platform and oppose autonomy are also opposed to the Camp David agreements in general.

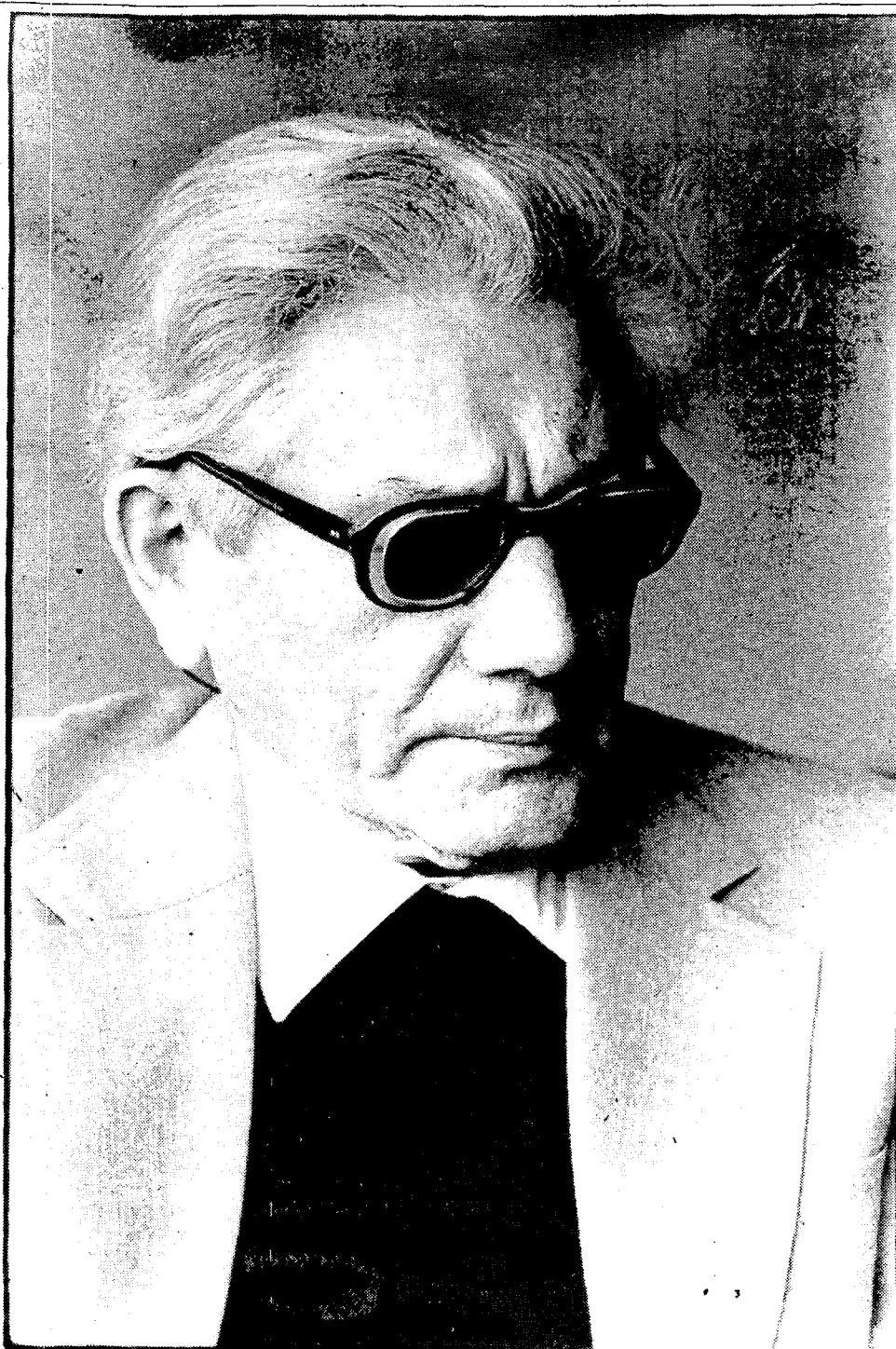
But Labour people are starting to think of a different solution. For instance, one Labour member of the Knesset and of the Knesset Committee for Security in Foreign Affairs, who belongs to the Labour party's top leadership, publicly proposed exploratory talks with the PLO. More and more Israelis are coming to look upon this solution as something preferable to involvement in a very complicated game of autonomy. *New Outlook* has helped bring together an informal forum of scholars and businessmen, a nonaction group for exchange of views, to discuss the Palestinian problem, and all the participants were in favor of exploratory approaches to the PLO.

**American Jews seem to be more hawkish, more intransigent toward the Palestinians, than Israeli Jews.**

That is true—because in Israel the view that we shall have to concede the Palestinians the right to self-determination is legitimate. Nobody regards such a view as a betrayal of the cause of Israel and Zionism, whereas American Jews who hear of this are shocked. The same applies also to Palestinians who live in the U.S. Those who live away from their own territory generally have a more extremist view.

**Many American left-wingers think that whatever the U.S. does must be wrong, so it's better for the U.S. not to have any role in the Middle East.**

I do not share this. It would be better for the Americans to have an analysis of



## Palestinian issue must be settled

**Simha Flapan of Israel's Labour party doesn't take the official line on the PLO, the West Bank, or the Soviet Union.**

what goes on here, to examine the various possibilities to define their interests and their objectives.

**Do you think that President Carter's role in helping to achieve the peace treaty was positive?**

Carter went a few steps further than Kissinger, who committed himself never to talk to the PLO without the Israelis present. Carter was the first to talk to the PLO, negotiate, without the previous agreement of the Israelis.

**If they would accept Israel's existence...**

No, if they will accept UN Security Council Resolution 242, which makes it psychologically easier for them than immediately to recognize Israel. This resolution is the only international resolution agreed to by all parties concerned that could serve as a basis for negotiation. There is no other resolution.

**Do you think that a treaty could have been achieved through the Geneva Conference?**

When? Before [Egypt's President Anwar] Sadat's peace initiative there was an American attempt to reconvene the Geneva Conference and an agreement was made with the Soviet Union and a joint declaration was issued. This statement was very good; also the Palestinians declared at the time that on the basis of this statement they would be ready to participate in talks. But the Israeli gov-

ernment opposed most violently any participation of the Palestinians. They did not oppose the Geneva Conference, but the participation of the PLO.

A kind of compromise was worked out between Carter and certain PLO people in a roundabout way, not direct representation of the PLO, but participation of some PLO personnel. From this point of view one could say that the road to the Geneva Conference was open. But then in the American public there emerged a very violent opposition to the American-Soviet agreement, which came mostly from the American strategic school and pro-Israeli Americans. Carter retreated from his position and announced that the joint declaration was not binding.

And so the whole idea of the Geneva Conference was dropped and I believe there was a connection between this development and Sadat's visit to Jerusalem, because Sadat saw that all the options had closed: nothing was going to happen, the Geneva Conference would not be reconvened, so he decided on a very dramatic gesture, to go to Jerusalem, in order to circumvent the pro-Israeli lobby in the U.S. and the anti-PLO position of Israel.

**We usually hear that Sadat went to Jerusalem to head off Soviet involvement in the peace negotiations—which meant heading off a Geneva meeting.**

From the point of view of the sequence

of events it's the other way around. The idea of the Geneva Conference collapsed before Sadat's visit. As a matter of fact, Sadat never closed the door to a Geneva conference. I remember at a critical point in negotiations that followed his Jerusalem visit, Sadat was asked, "What are we going to do next. Nothing is happening." And his answer was, "This is not the end of the world. There is still the possibility of Geneva." The Egyptians never totally closed the door to the Geneva conference, although they didn't want it.

Even the Camp David agreements include a clause providing for the ratification of the agreement by the UN. This means that the Americans will have to deal with the Soviets, who would somehow have to join in. Otherwise the clause makes no sense.

**Yes, but the Soviets are not involved in negotiations.**

No, but they are informed about them. They are not involved; therefore, the Soviets are against them. But our version from the report of the Israeli delegation to the Soviet Union was that the Soviets opposed the American initiative and Sadat's initiative but they would subordinate their position on this to the larger issue of SALT II. I believe that the Middle East plays a subordinate role in Soviet policy. If they get SALT II, they will certainly not allow the Middle East to serve as an obstacle.

**So you don't see the Soviets as a "villain behind the scene," interested in provoking the PLO or Syria and Iraq into a war against Israel.**

The Soviets are certainly opposed to a Pax Americana in the Middle East. The Soviets would oppose a strategic doctrine that replaced Iran with Egypt or Israel or both together as American allies against the Soviet Union—with all means at their disposal. Such a strategic doctrine only invites the Soviets to try to break it, as they did in the '50s.

In the '50s, the Eisenhower administration also tried to set out a kind of military-political alliance in the Middle East directed against the Soviet Union. This opened a period of turbulence and revolution in the Middle East, which the Soviets encouraged.

If an attempt is made to repeat this exercise, it would certainly invite the Soviets to become active in efforts to break it.

**Is there any alternative to a Palestinian state?**

Well, you could envisage a reunification of the West Bank with Jordan and the Palestinians themselves do not exclude such a perspective. They want in the first stage to have a Palestinian state, so the Palestinians themselves could decide whether they want to have a separate Palestinian state from Jordan or ultimately a united one. But they want to have the freedom to decide.

**Either way, that would mean that what is now called the West Bank would not be within Israeli sovereignty.**

Certainly. There is no possibility of peace if the West Bank remains under Israeli rule.

**Is the Labour Party prepared to support that?**

The Labour Party is prepared to return most of the West Bank to Jordan, not to the Palestinians. They are opposed to the idea of a Palestinian state run by the PLO. They are against Jewish settlements in the West Bank, except in uncultivated areas, mainly in the Jordan valley. The Labour Party tried to negotiate with Jordan a peace agreement based on the Allon plan. It did not succeed. We criticized this plan, because we knew that neither Jordan nor the Palestinians would accept it, because the Allon plan takes away from the West Bank the only few reserves of land that could serve as a basis for a settlement of refugees.

But the Labour Party is now in the process of reconsidering its position. It tried to push the Allon plan in negotiations, and it failed. Then Begin created the precedent of returning all the Sinai to Egypt. So some Labour leaders are beginning to think in similar terms about the West Bank. In any case, they think

*Continued on page 18.*



## EUROPE

# Germany drags poor cousins into money system

By Diana Johnstone

**T**HE LAUNCHING OF THE EUROPEAN Monetary System (EMS) in March by eight of the nine Common Market countries showed that the economic reasons of the strong can find support in the political reasons of the weak.

The strong are, first of all, the Germans. As an attempt to create an area of stable currency around the mark, the EMS fits in with West Germany's transformation from a goods-exporting to a capital-exporting nation with a major role in shaping the new international division of labor.

Second come the French, if only because the Germans need a partner to operate effectively abroad. Exasperated with what he considers the Carter administration's irresponsible handling of economic and foreign affairs, Chancellor Helmut Schmidt has moved to strengthen the partnership with France, whose international political influence, notably in Africa, is a major asset. The EMS was basically a Franco-German project imposed on other European Economic Community (EEC) members who want to remain in good standing—that is, all of them but Britain.

Paris has always favored monetary stability in theory, but in practice tying the franc to the more sturdy mark can pinch sectors of the French population—and cause political problems to the government. But after the left's electoral defeat last year, President Valéry Giscard d'Estaing was ready to brave such dangers to pursue his overall policy of creating the most favorable conditions for French-based multinational corporations.

The EMS was held up for a couple of months by a dispute between the two major partners over a complicated farm

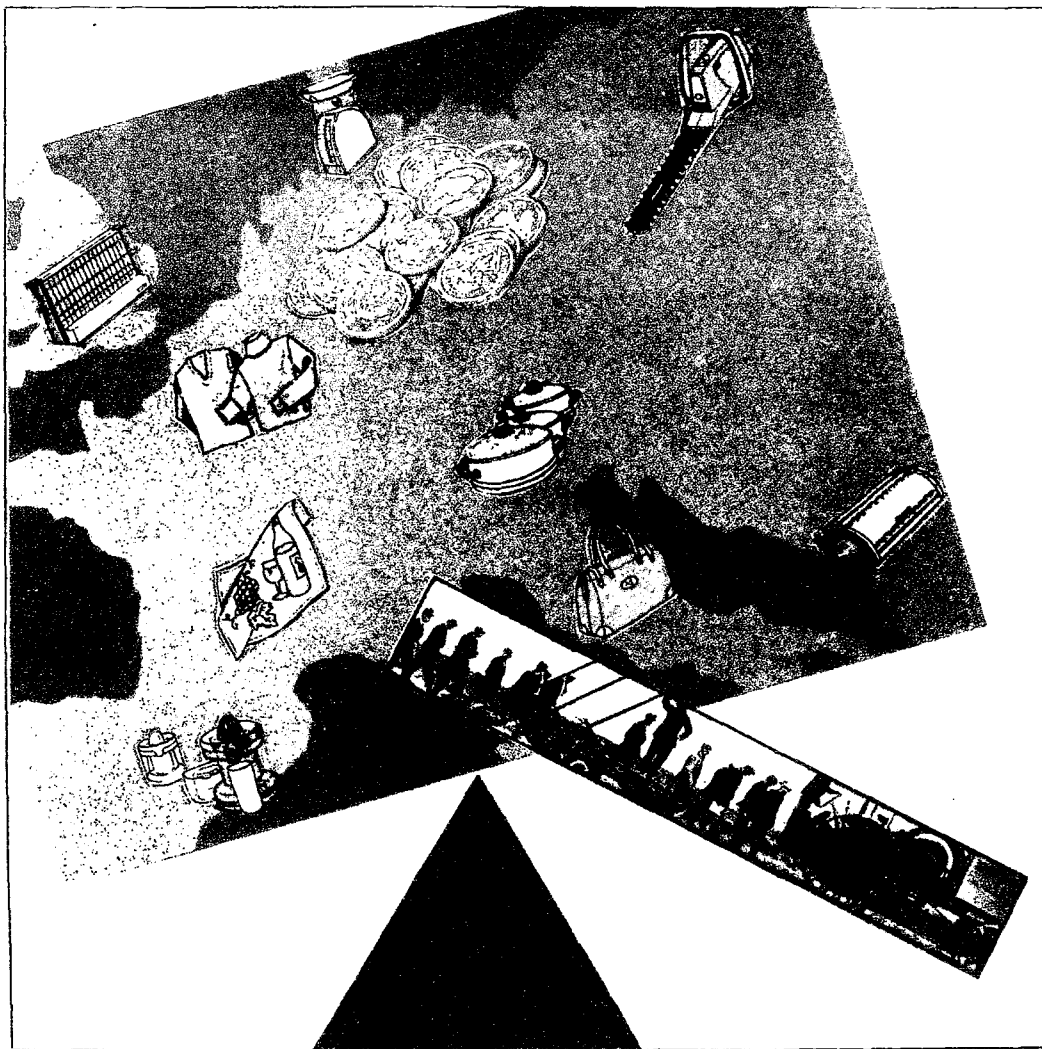
price arrangement that has turned out to give a big advantage to German farmers. Giscard eventually accepted a compromise favorable to the Germans, presumably in the hope of getting the EEC summit that formally launched the EEC to give him some support in dealing with restructuring the steel industry. In particular, he reportedly hoped to get his partners to take steps towards shortening the work week and adding a fifth shift in steel plants throughout the EEC. This would have given the French steel industry something to offer its angry workers and still remain competitive in Europe.

But all that emerged from the summit was a request to the European Commission to study the question—which it has already done. French sources said Schmidt was adamant in opposing any move towards the 35-hour week, even though it is the star measure in the platform of European Socialist Parties endorsed by Schmidt's own party.

The mere fact that the matter was decided by the "Council of Europe," that is, by the heads of state and government, rather than by any of the regular EEC bodies, was about the only political point scored by Giscard in his battle with Gaullists who do not want to see such important decisions left to "supranational" bodies.

For Germany, the system seems to offer the advantage of protecting German business from being undercut in foreign trade by weak-currency countries like Italy. The Italian Christian Democratic government went along with the EMS for political, rather than economic, advantage (since none were apparent). The EMS will serve as an alibi for holding down public expenses (the welfare state) and labor costs.

Thus (except for Germany) the left in



Paul Merri

EEC countries was relatively hostile to the EMS, but frequently chose to express this hostility in nationalist terms.

French Communist Party leader Georges Marchais said France was being dragged into a monetary system in which West Germany "will be able to lay down the law." The PCF denounced "German Europe," but the left in other countries denounced "Franco-German Europe."

While the Germans clearly meant business, some of the weaker governments seemed to be using the EEC to try to improve their shaky domestic political positions. This was the prevailing interpretation of British Prime Minister James Callaghan's blast at EEC farm policy, accompanied by a threat to withhold financial contributions. The French and Germans tended to see Britain's refusal to join the EMS as the beginning of its withdrawal from a Europe it has never fully decided to join. Even the Italians, most likely to agree with Callaghan, could not help feeling that the Labour Prime Minister was speaking less to them than to the folks back home, whose lack of enthusiasm for Europe appears surpassed only by their lack of enthusiasm for the Labour govern-

ment itself. In any case, Callaghan seemed to be singing his EEC swan song.

Although the Andreotti government's agreement to join the EMS without any *quid pro quo* was one of the main factors that led the Italian Communist Party to withdraw from the majority, the PCI was relatively restrained in its opposition, apparently for fear of hurting its relations with the German Social Democrats.

Some observers, noting that the EMS is just a revival of the defunct European currency "snake" in a new skin, predict that it will die like its predecessor. The EMS suffers from obvious weaknesses. It fails to define its relationship to the dollar and remains vulnerable to the huge mass of floating petrodollars whose sudden shifts can cause monetary havoc anywhere. And because it attempts to patch up the monetary manifestations of economic inequalities between EEC countries without doing anything about their structural causes, some call it an effort to "build Europe starting with the roof."

Insofar as it works, the EMS is expected by the European left to help make the rich richer and the poor poorer—both nations and classes.

By Doug Smith

WINNIPEG

**W**ITH GOOD REASON THE federal election on May 22 is widely seen as one of the most important in Canadian history. With the province of Quebec approaching a referendum on some form of separatism, the election threatens to split the country along linguistic and racial lines.

And for social democrats the election will be the acid test for its recently reconfirmed alliance with organized labor.

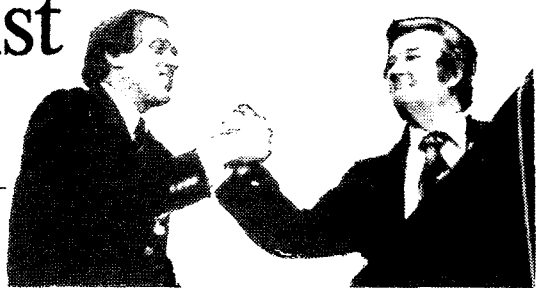
Pierre Trudeau waited until the end of his five-year term before calling this election. He spent the last year flailing about in search of policies to boost his party's sagging fortunes. But last October, in a set of 45 elections, the Liberals won in only one riding.

Joe Clark's Progressive Conservative party is given a good chance of capturing a plurality of the seats in the country, but he will probably not pick up more than one or two seats in Quebec, the second-largest province. With only one exception, Quebec has returned a large Liberal majority in every election this century.

A Clark victory would leave Canada with an anglophone government apparently opposed to anything but the most token forms of bilingualism—and with a francophone opposition. Rene Levesque is hoping this sort of split will bring the nation's racial tensions to the fore. The attitude of some Tory candidates is indicated by one who explained that he was not canvassing in a French-speaking part

## Federal election pits French against English, labor against capital

New Democratic leader Ed Broadbent (left) and CLC president Dennis McDermott.



Murray Mosher

of his riding "because the priest in the pulpit says vote Liberal; what can you do?"

The election marks the first time the Canadian Labor Congress has thrown itself into a campaign on behalf of the New Democratic Party. CLC helped form the NDP in 1961, but its support, until this year, has been largely symbolic, according to its president, Dennis McDermott.

This year McDermott and senior CLC officials are touring the country to raise rank and file support for the NDP. They have produced pamphlets and a button that reads "The Perfect Union—me and the NDP." A CLC phone campaign has volunteers calling other union members to talk about the election issue. McDermott admits the CLC is putting a lot of its credibility on the line by taking such a high profile, but he says, "We've got nothing to lose."

The object is to make the major portion of the union vote NDP, compared to the 20 percent of union members who have voted NDP in the past. McDermott thinks events of recent years will change that. Many unionists deserted the NDP for the Liberals in 1974, when the number of NDP seats was cut in half. That was because the Conservatives were campaigning on a program of wage and price controls. The NDP did such an effective critique of the program that rank and file unionists voted Liberal to prevent a Conservative victory.

Little more than a year later, Trudeau imposed a three-year program of wage and price controls that kept workers salaries below the rate of inflation by three points a year.

Since then Trudeau has exhibited a strongly anti-union stance, legislating

the postal workers back to work last fall and seeking to impose a permanent form of wage controls on public service workers. These anti-union actions give the NDP hope of winning the CLC vote.

Medicare and the fate of the country's national energy corporation—Petrocan—are also shaping up as major issues. Trudeau is campaigning as the savior of the country's medicare system, which now is in a state of disarray largely because of his own government's indifference.

The Conservatives have been threatening to dismantle Petrocan, while Trudeau is claiming it is needed as an integral part of the country's energy policy. The ironic aspect of this is that both medicare and Petrocan owe their existence to pressure put on the Liberals by the NDP during periods of minority government.

The early weeks of the election show that Canadian politicians have mastered the art of the media campaign. Leaders jet about from backdrop to backdrop, keeping the press in quarantine, gearing all their statements for the 11 o'clock news. Clark, who is even with Trudeau in the polls, has refused a television debate since it would have provided equal time for NDP's Broadbent. Trudeau has been telling the unemployed to get off their "asses" and get jobs, and saying that farmers are professional complainers and that Joe Clark—who has proposed tax cuts—is the seven billion dollar man.

The final wild card of the campaign is the Credististe Parti in Quebec. This right-wing, nationalist group has a small rump in the House of Commons at the present time. A good showing by them could leave no party with a clear majority on May 22.



# Albert Parsons and the American origins of May Day

# HAYMARKET



**Attention Workingmen!**

**MASS-MEETING**

**TO-NIGHT, at 7:30 o'clock,**

**HAYMARKET, Randolph St. Bet. Desplaines and Halsted**

Good speakers will be present to discuss the latest news of the movement. All workers are invited to attend. Refreshments will be served. Free admission.

**Willingness to sacrifice and April is full!**

**FOR REVOLUTIONARY COMMITTEE**

**Achtung, Arbeiter!**

**Waffen-Verfammlung**

**Schöne Abende, es über, an dem**

**Schmarrn, Schmeißer, Schmeißer, Schmeißer.**

Our speaker will be present to discuss the latest news of the movement. All workers are invited to attend. Refreshments will be served. Free admission.

**Willingness to sacrifice and April is full!**

**FOR REVOLUTIONARY COMMITTEE**

**Waffen-Verfammlung**

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**FOR REVOLUTIONARY COMMITTEE**

**Poster announcing Haymarket meeting.**

**By Richard Schneirov**

## May Day:

Labor's international holiday. Communist countries have military parades and European workers have massive demonstrations. But in the U.S., May Day goes by quietly. It's been renamed Law Day. What's odd about this scenario? Nothing, except that May Day began in the U.S., with the Chicago Haymarket demonstrations in 1886.

What happened at Haymarket? On the evening of May 4, 1886, after three days of eight-hour strikes sponsored by the trade unions and mammoth worker demonstrations led by socialists and anarchists, a bomb exploded in the midst of a phalanx of police advancing on workers in Haymarket Square. Seven policemen died and almost 70 police were wounded; seven workers were killed and dozens were "wounded."

the Republican Party. He became a champion of the freed blacks' political rights, and in 1869 married Lucy, a former slave of black and Mexican Indian descent. (Lucy Parsons later became famous as an organizer of working women in Chicago, as a trade unionist and as a syndicalist leader in the IWW.)

In Texas, Albert Parsons served in a number of positions in the Reconstruction government, including Chief Deputy Collector of the U.S. Internal Revenue at Austin, and Secretary of the State Senate.

In 1873, with the overthrow of the Reconstruction government in Texas, he and Lucy went to Chicago. The 1873-79 depression had just begun. Though the city's trade unions were decimated, this period saw the rise of the first socialist agitation, mainly by German immigrants, many fleeing from Bismark's anti-socialist laws of the 1870s.

Parsons early drew a parallel between southern slavery and northern industrial capitalism. In his autobiography, he recalled that he saw a similarity between the freed blacks' demand for 40 acres and a mule, and the industrial workers' demands for social justice. While working as a printer, he studied the ideas of the German LaSallean socialists and of the American working-class theorist and eight-

of Labor, viz., 'The abolition of the wages system' and the substitution in its stead of an industrial system of universal co-operation...'

Unlike many socialists at the time, Parsons did not make a principled question of choosing between trade unionism or political action. He was an adherent both of Steward's eight-hour doctrine, popular among trade unionists, and LaSallean doctrines of political actions. He saw both as leading to the ultimate goal of the "Cooperative Commonwealth." In an early intra-party squabble he supported running candidates in local elections.

He ran for alderman in 1877, 1878 and 1879, being barely defeated—probably by fraud—in 1878. But for his youth, he would have been the SLP's 1880 presidential candidate.

Parsons always had close connections with the city's trade unions, which revived after the 1877 Great Upheaval. He helped form the city Trades and Labor Assembly in 1877 and became its first president. As head of Chicago's Eight Hour League, he became friends with Ira Steward and invited him to speak at the League's July 4th celebration in 1879.

By 1878, the violence and bitter class feeling of 1877 had a powerful effect on Parsons and on many of the immigrant

box as the mechanism for securing their demands."

Although he emphasized the need for a revolutionary movement outside the electoral arena, Parsons opposed the "propaganda of the deed," individualistic violence associated with European anarchism. Later he would oppose all electoral activity in principle.

In December 1882, charismatic anarchist Johann Most arrived in New York. The American left would never be quite the same again. Most viewed himself as a kind of European messiah, bringing the truth to benighted Americans. A powerful and compelling speaker, Most soon attracted many Eastern sections of the Revolutionary Socialists to his nihilist outlook, which involved the employment of dynamite bombs in a propaganda of the deed.

Parsons and many other Chicago socialists had by this time become anarchists. What they meant by this, however, was simply that they identified the existence of the state and statute law with the exploitation of wage-labor and sought its immediate abolition. Nevertheless, the Chicago groups led the opposition to Most at the 1883 national congress.

With deep roots in trade unions as well as having experienced modest electoral

ist group in the city; the SLP was insignificant at this point. The weekly papers of the IWWPA had a circulation in 1884 of at least 20,000.

Meanwhile, Parsons' *Alarm* was developing a syndicalist philosophy, known as the "Chicago Idea," which saw the trade union as the embryo of the future "free society." Trade unions, not a workers' government, would establish and operate cooperative enterprises once the state had been abolished. The goal of trade union-run cooperatives was not uncommon among American labor and socialist leaders; what appears new is the idea of trade unions as revolutionary organizations. During the period preceding Haymarket, Parsons and Spies developed the syndicalist position that a workers' insurrection could proceed from an armed general strike for the eight-hour day, which, they believed, could not be won within the framework of capitalism.

Some historians, following Selig Perlman, have viewed Parsons and Spies as syndicalist precursors of the IWW. While there is much truth in this judgment, Parsons' thinking remained theoretically inconsistent. He was, like most American socialists of his time, first and foremost an agitator, not a theoretician.

In tying the idea of an armed guard

found to his dismay that Irish policemen in the city's turbulent Southwest side would not protect strikebreakers during the Irish moulders strike, and strikers won their demands. Other employers regularly petitioned City Hall for police support during strikes in the early 1880s.

The second problem was the explosion of saloons in the 1870s and widespread drinking among newly industrialized workers. Heavy drinking contributed to community violence and sapped industrial discipline. Saloonkeepers were also organizers of unskilled laborers' unions before the advent of the temperance-oriented Knights. Most importantly, they served as the grassroots basis of Harrison's newly founded Democratic machine.

In 1883, Chicago's rulers secured—with the help of a mass movement of women temperance reformers—a hefty increase in saloon license fees. The increase severely limited the growth of Chicago's saloons, undermined the financial independence of existing saloonkeepers and forced many into becoming employees of the capitalist brewers. The extra revenue helped to pay for doubling the size of the police force. At the same time, John Bonfield, a trusted friend of Chicago's business barons, was promoted to Police Inspector.

In November 1885, McCormick locked out his workers, most of whom were affiliated with Central Labor Union, from his huge harvester plant. The following March 1, Bonfield directed 350 policemen in protecting McCormick's plant reopening with non-union workers. In protest against Bonfield's May 2 police assault on McCormick union workers and Bohemian lumberyard laborers, the anarchists called the fateful Haymarket meeting for the evening of May 3.

In direct violation of Mayor Carter Harrison's instructions, Bonfield ordered his police to break up what was up to then a peaceful demonstration in Haymarket Square. In fact, the Mayor had just left

## ANARCHISTS AND MARTYRS





ed when remaining police emptied their revolvers into the panic-stricken crowd.

No one ever found out who threw the bomb. Nevertheless, eight anarchist leaders were convicted and convicted. In the face of worldwide protests, Albert Parsons, August Spies, George Engel and Aaron Brown were hanged Nov. 11, 1887. Louis Lingg had earlier committed suicide in his cell rather than be hanged. Oscar Neebe, who had received a 15-year sentence, and Michael Schwab and Samuel Fielden, whose death sentences had been commuted to life imprisonment, remained in jail.

In 1893, newly elected populist Illinois governor John Peter Altgeld (Dem.) granted absolute pardon to Schwab, Fielden and Neebe. Some say the pardon destroyed Altgeld politically. But it was not for this that he was savaged in the press and well-to-do circles, and ultimately run out of politics. Rather it was because Altgeld stated in the pardon that the Haymarket Fight had been framed and that the root cause of the bombing was police brutality and the abuse of workers' rights in the decade preceding 1886.

Liberals remember Haymarket as a time of unreasoning hysteria, when eight radicals were railroaded for the advocacy of unpopular views. Leftists see Haymarket also as a culmination of the eight-hour movement and the origin of May Day. But all have neglected the anarchists' political ideas: liberals out of embarrassment, and leftists out of disagreement with what they see as an exotic and individualistic philosophy.

Yet the Haymarket radicals called themselves "socialists" and "communists" as well as "anarchists," and most had solid roots in the Chicago labor movement. They were neither lone terrorists nor isolated radicals removed from mass trade union activity. The political career of Albert Parsons, the most prominent Chicago anarchist of the period, makes this clear.

Parsons' career shows that 19th century American socialism was not simply a European import but had solid roots in American radicalism. Parsons also combined distinct strands of thought in a unique way that was neither European anarchism, nor Marxist socialism, nor American labor radicalism of the Knights of Labor variety.

Born in 1848, Parsons was the son of a Universalist middle-class New Englander who emigrated to Montgomery, Ala., in 1830, where he set up a leather and shoe factory. When the Civil War began, 14-year-old Parsons enlisted in the Confederate Army and fought in several engagements under his brother William in the Texas cavalry. But after the war, young Parsons followed his brother into the Texas Reconstruction government and



Albert Parsons

hour champion Ira Steward, whose analysis of labor exploitation resembled that of Karl Marx.

In April 1876, after listening to a speech by the socialist and carpenter union leader P.J. McGuire, he joined the Social-Democratic Workmen's Party of North America. This party joined with other socialist groups later that year to form the Workingmen's Party of the U.S., the American successor to Marx's First International. The next year it changed its name to the Socialist Labor Party, with which Daniel DeLeon was later associated.

displayed during the 1877 Great Upheaval the formidable oratory that was to make him the most popular socialist leader in Chicago for a decade.

In July 1877, spontaneous railroad strikes against depression wage-cuts swept from the east westward through the great industrial centers. In Pittsburgh and St. Louis, workers conducted general strikes. In Chicago, crowds of strikers shut down the city and battled police and militia units. One year after becoming a socialist, Parsons was speaking to tens of thousands of agitated workers. According to a colleague, "His capacity at times like these to address himself to the feelings of the workers was something marvelous."

Parsons joined the Knights of Labor, the largest American organization of workers, in 1876 and became "Master Workman" of Chicago's District Assembly. Even after he became an anarchist, he refused to take the position of many Marxian socialists that the Knights were "utopians." Before his execution he wrote from prison, "The foundation of socialism or anarchy is the same as the Knights

socialists and trade unionists. Parsons joined an armed workers society, the *Lehr und Wehr Verein*, which openly paraded its rifles on Chicago's North Side; and he became a fervent advocate of workers' armed self-defense.

Armed societies existed among several ethnic groups in that period. By the mid-1870s German and Bohemian armed groups, which had been part of the state militia, took on a distinctly working-class and socialist orientation. After 1877 the growth of such groups seemed to Chicago's "better elements" to presage working-class insurrection. When SLP chairman Phillip Van Patten denounced the groups as likely to prejudice the party's chances in elections, Parsons and German trade unionists began to criticize the leadership for the first time.

In 1880, socialist alderman Frank Sauter was fraudulently denied his seat by Chicago Democrats, and Parsons and socialist trade unionists began to doubt that electoral means alone would be enough to bring about a socialist transition. But the final break came with the Socialist Labor Party's alliance with the Greenback party in the 1880 presidential election. Parsons and other dissidents in various cities split and formed Social-Revolutionary Clubs, which in 1881 coalesced into the short-lived Revolutionary Socialist Party.

Parsons, however, retained a pragmatic cast of mind that was rooted partly in his relative indifference to theory and partly in his closeness to popular currents among Chicago's workers. At the founding convention of the new party he fought hard against New York City delegates who opposed participation in elections. Parsons, according to Henry David's account, "reminded the delegates that they were living in America, where people traditionally regarded the ballot

success, the Chicagoans opposed individualistic violence.

But while the Chicago delegates were able to secure passage of a compromise resolution favoring trade unions as a means of radicalizing workers, Most dominated the Congress.

Most's influence in America is an early example of the tendency of American leftists to look outside themselves for revolutionary guidance. Parsons was one of those drawn into a movement that became known for its fascination with dynamite.

Dynamite had not always been associated with individualistic terrorism. Invented only in 1866, dynamite was immediately seized upon by many revolutionaries in the early 1880's as science's gift to the downtrodden millions. It was seen as a great leveller that made a weak and disunited working class suddenly the equal to the forces of order. One extreme Protestant millennialist even saw dynamite as the "blast of Gabriel's trumpet.... It does the deeds of God." To labor historian Herbert Gutman, such violent rhetoric was a reflection of "the extraordinary psychological strains of early industrialism." Only after Haymarket was the use of dynamite universally condemned by mainstream socialists.

In Chicago the attempt to build revolutionary trade unions led to a split among the city's unions. Led by Parsons and the German immigrant socialist August Spies, the new Central Labor Union attracted approximately 20,000 of Chicago's workers—almost all German and Bohemian—as compared with the much smaller number affiliated with the Trades Assembly. The International Working People's Association (IWWA), as the Revolutionary Socialists were now called, had about 2,500 loosely organized members in Chicago, by far the largest social-



August Spies

strike to the popular demand for the eight-hour day, Parsons and Spies found a way to unite the left with the Chicago labor movement. Chicago was one of the few cities with broad trade union and radical solidarity in the eight-hour campaign.

teemed with excitement in the months before May 1, 1886. The city had emerged as center of the eight-hour movement in the U.S. Virtually every Chicago trade union endorsed the eight-hour day, and tens of thousands of workers, even grocery clerks and white collar employees of downtown stores, organized for the first time. There were mass meetings, parades and rallies, some led by the Central Labor Union.

By May 1, 20,000 workers already had won the eight-hour day and 40,000 had gone on strike for it. About twice that number took part in demonstrations, including a massive march of about 80,000 down Michigan Avenue led by Albert and Lucy.

The Haymarket bombing gave Chicago's employers the pretext for an all-out attack on the eight-hour movement.

Chicago's industrialists had had a delayed reaction to the Great Upheaval of 1877. At first, it was a nightmare they would rather forget. But the election of the first socialists to office between 1877 and 1880, the election of Mayor Carter Harrison, who was outwardly sympathetic to workers, and the phenomenal growth of unions in the early 1880s convinced them that the forces of "law and order" would have to be strengthened.

There were two immediate issues. One was the problem that police often sided with workers. In 1884 Cyrus McCormick

a bomb exploded in their midst.

With Haymarket as the pretext, Chicago's capitalists and press whipped up an unprecedented hysteria against labor. In two days, 200 labor and socialist leaders were arrested and the socialist press shut down. IWWA leader William Holmes, a close friend of Parsons, wrote to socialist editor William Morris in England:

*One year ago freedom of speech and of the press was a right unquestioned by the bitterest anti-socialist.... Today all this is changed. Socialists are hunted like wolves.... The Chicago papers are loud and unceasing in their demand for the lives of all prominent Socialists.*

Melville Stone, editor of the *Chicago Daily News* and leading figure in the businessmen's Chicago Citizen's Association, advised the state's attorney to ignore trying to identify the real bomb thrower, and instead to indict Parsons, Spies and other socialist leaders for advocating the violent overthrow of the government, under the recently passed state criminal conspiracy act. The state's attorney acted on Stone's advice.

Albert Parsons was their most likely "conspirator." In the decade preceding Haymarket he had emerged as a unique figure in Chicago labor politics. Where other leaders spoke socialism to their own ethnic group or political organization, Parsons spoke to workers as a whole and in popular language. In an era when mass leadership was still based more on charisma than organization, Parsons' magnetic oratory made him a symbol of class unity. Within the socialist movement, Parsons' influence braked tendencies that would have isolated the left from popular currents.

Parsons failed to reconcile his conception of socialist revolution with the city's working-class movement, in part because his anarcho-syndicalist movement was associated with dynamite bombs.

Nevertheless, though long neglected, Parsons and the Chicago anarchists played a major formative role in the shaping of the American socialist and labor traditions. And it was those American traditions that created the May Day labor holiday, celebrated now in almost every country in the world—except in the U.S. □

Readers may enjoy William Adelmann's *Haymarket Revisited*, Carolyn Ashbaugh's *Lucy Parsons, American Revolutionary*, and Henry David's *The History of the Haymarket Affair*. Rodney Esvan's *"The Political Thought of Albert Parsons"* (unpublished M.A. thesis, Roosevelt University, 1978) was an important source for this article.

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## EDITORIAL

## Will Pinochet get away with murder?

In June 1976, President Augusto Pinochet of Chile ordered his then secret police chief, Manuel Contreras, to murder Orlando Letelier, a former Chilean cabinet minister living in exile in the U.S., and a courageously outspoken proponent of the return of democracy to Chile. Approximately three months later, Contreras, through his DINA secret police operatives helped by Cuban exile terrorists, executed this order. In the process they also murdered a colleague of Letelier's, Ronni Moffitt, a U.S. citizen.

Now, almost three years after he gave that order, Pinochet has defied efforts of the U.S. government to bring the Chilean murderers to justice. Through a compliant Chilean judge, he has refused either to extradite or put on trial in Chile the three Chilean secret police officers indicted by a U.S. grand jury. The U.S. government has accumulated overwhelming evidence against these three men—Gen. Contreras, Col. Espinoza and Capt. Fernandez—and had painstakingly presented this evidence to the Chilean government.

No doubt Pinochet believes that he has gotten away with murder—once again. His record for murder is long. It includes the bodies of missing Chilean political protesters discovered last December in an abandoned mine in Lon Quen, Chile. The Institute of Forensic Medicine in Santiago has concluded that at least 13 of these people were buried alive and died of asphyxiation. Human excrement found with the bodies, and scratch marks on the bodies and walls, indicate that they made futile attempts to free themselves. In another "incident" a witness has testified to the mass shooting and subsequent burial by DINA and military officials of more political prisoners, whose bodies were uncovered at Cuesta Barriga soon after the Lon Quen discovery.

Evidence also shows that Pinochet or-

**If Chile refuses to extradite the Letelier conspirators, the door will be open to foreign terrorists in the U.S.**

dered the execution of former Chilean Defense Ministers Jose Toha and Carlos Prats, as well as his own former Defense Minister Gen. Oscar Bonilla. Like former Defense Minister Letelier, all had access to Pinochet's personal file. The FBI also has evidence that Pinochet spawned an international network of terrorism to kill persons whom he considered to be his personal and political enemies. The evidence is that he ordered their assassination with the help of local fascist organizations in Argentina, Italy, Costa Rica, Spain, France, Mexico and Germany.

In the U.S., members of the terrorist Cuban Nationalist Movement exploded the bomb under Letelier's car. Three of them have since been convicted by a U.S. jury; two others are still at large. The CNM uses the Nazi S.S. insignia as its symbol. The issue, then, is not just Chile's failure to extradite the conspirators in the Letelier case, but the larger theme of gangster government and state-sponsored terrorism.

When U.S. District Court Judge Barrington Parker sentenced the Cuban exiles to life imprisonment, he warned the Justice Department to comply with its promise to press for extradition. The Justice Department did not push. And Pinochet interpreted the lack of pressure as weakness.



Reacting to the Chilean government's refusal to extradite the killers, a U.S. official said: "The whole thing was fixed from the start. And certain U.S. officials knew this but, cynically, went along with it."

If the U.S. government's stand against terrorism is to carry any credibility at all, Washington should withdraw its ambassador to Chile and sever diplomatic relations with the Chilean junta. It should pressure the big American banks to stop their millions of dollars of loans and investments in Chile. Without the aid of private U.S. bankers, Pinochet and his fellow killers could not survive.

In refusing extradition or trial under its own country's laws, the Chilean military junta, which overthrew a democrat-

ically elected government, has arrogantly ridiculed the U.S. Department of Justice and the U.S. Department of State, and a jury of U.S. citizens. It has mocked the sovereignty of the U.S. in its own capital. If the U.S. now fails to take stern action, not only diplomats and exiles from military dictatorships living in Washington, but also citizens of the U.S. who are their friends or fellow workers, like Ronni Moffitt, will be vulnerable to further acts of foreign terrorism. Potential assassins won't have to worry that the U.S. might force their extradition as a consequence of their acts. The "Human Rights Administration" of President Jimmy Carter will have forfeited whatever remaining credibility it has in claiming "moral leadership" at home and abroad.

## Supreme Court hands down Nixon's revenge

Nixon is not in office but his war against a free press and civil liberties continues to be waged by a Supreme Court stacked with four of his field commanders—Chief Justice Burger and associate justices Blackmun, Rehnquist and Stevens.

The Court's conservatives are sticklers for "limited government" when it comes to affirmative action and regulation of the market place, but they are veritable New Deal interventionists when it comes to regulation of speech and conscience. The black robes of justice on the Nixon court are more and more taking on the purple hue of royal prerogative against citizen rights.

On April 18, the high court handed down two decisions stretching the law further against individual rights and an independent press.

In *Dalia vs. U.S.*, by a 6-3 decision, with three Nixon appointees joining the majority, the Court ruled that the constitutional protection against unreasonable search and seizure (the Fourth Amendment) does not forbid federal or state police from covert breaking and entry to install court-sanctioned electronic surveillance devices. The Court held the power to break and enter, without the explicit grant of authority by a federal or state judge, to be implicit in the Omnibus Criminal Control Act of 1968.

The Act itself makes no reference to covert entries. It was intended, ostensibly, to restrict government use of bugging techniques by subjecting it to judicial control. Now the Court has engaged in a legislative legerdemain, in effect amending the law to grant the police a license to invade

people's homes and offices without the restraining hand of judicial supervision.

As the three dissenting justices, Brennan, Marshall and Stevens (not completely a Nixon loyalist) pointed out, the majority transformed the law's failure to authorize surreptitious entries into its opposite: It "converts silence into thunder."

If police officers can convince a judge to authorize bugging, they will now be free to break into and enter the premises of homes, businesses, newspapers, trade unions, civil rights organizations, etc., with no practical restraint on what they might do while there. They will have effective power to search and seize without so much as a warrant the Supreme Court stipulated as sufficient for police searches of newspaper and other premises—in the *Stanford* decision handed down last May.

If Nixon is not to have his revenge on all Americans' liberties for the debacle of his Watergate plumbers caught in the act of surreptitious entry, Congress will have to undo the Court's damage by amending the Crime Control Act explicitly to forbid covert breaking and entry, and to make such invasions of privacy easily challengeable by citizens, and subject to severe punishment, in the courts.

The second decision dispensed on April 18, in the case of *Herbert vs. Lando*, extends the government's reach into the minds of reporters and editors. Again, by a 6-3 majority, with all four Nixon appointees concurring, the Court interpreted the law of libel to permit courts to examine the motives, judgments, beliefs,

conversations, and sources of reporters and editors in producing stories for print or broadcast.

This decision may give Nixon an even sweeter taste of revenge than did the *Dalia* decision. Army Lt. Col. Anthony Herbert, one of the most decorated soldiers in U.S. history, asserted in 1971 that he had been relieved of his command for reporting war crimes to his superiors in Vietnam. He charged the Army high command with a cover-up of war atrocities committed by American soldiers. He later brought suit for libel against CBS television "60 Minutes" producer Barry Lando for falsely defaming the honesty of his charges against the Army.

The merits of Lando's case are not at issue here; at issue, rather, is the Supreme Court's rendering of the libel law to attack the press. Coming on top of the *Farber* and *Caldwell* (or *Branzburg*) decisions, which weakened protection of confidentiality of sources, the *Herbert* decision continues the trend of strengthening the power of public figures to suppress public knowledge of their conduct.

It effectively reverses the Warren Court's 1964 *Sullivan vs. New York Times* decision by, as Tom Wicker observes (*New York Times*, April 20), "making the 'editorial process' and the 'state of mind' of reporters and editors legitimate targets of inquiry by public figures.... Not only will more libel suits be encouraged; they will be lengthier and costlier and more harassing as plaintiffs delve endlessly into the elements of even the most confidential and crucial editorial decisions."

The *Herbert* decision will make the

media more timid, not more responsible to the public's right to know. It will not in practice protect those with little wealth or influence from libelous injuries at the hands of the media, for they lack the enormous resources required to go into court in the first place. But it will intimidate smaller newspapers and broadcasters with the threat of ruinous legal costs and star chamber inquisitions. It will give the rich and powerful even more control over the media than they already exert.

As Justice Marshall wrote in his dissent, the tendency toward effective censorship will grow "so long as any plaintiff with a deep pocket and a facially sufficient complaint is afforded unconstrained discovery of the editorial process." Marshall's point is all the more telling when it is remembered that the Court's decision applies to pre-trial discovery process before any determination of whether plaintiff has a valid case.

Imagine Nixon's glee at seeing his robed injustices using a classic American superhero like Herbert, who turned against the Army's conduct in Vietnam, as a club with which once again to restrict media coverage of the high and the mighty. Herbert may or may not ultimately win his case against CBS. But Nixon's Court is making mincemeat of American liberties with one victory after another over the Bill of Rights. Impeachment proceedings in Congress were required to stay Nixon's hand; they may be the only weapon left to stay that hand again now that it is acting up the robed sleeves on the Supreme Court.



# LETTERS

## CRACKING GOOD LUCK

YOUR ARTICLE ON THREE MILE ISLAND (ITT, Apr. 12) called it "good luck" that a cracked pipe that could have caused a meltdown was found while Iowa's Duane Arnold nuclear plant was closed down. Good luck, indeed! Further checking revealed several more damaged pipes—often cracked all the way around.

The welders called in to do the repair work were forced by management to take twice the dose of radiation they were supposed to; they were also pressured to do a very sloppy job. Proper test procedures were not followed, welders did work for which they were uncertified, and, worst of all, the wrong alloys were allegedly used on several welds—certainly hastening the corrosion of an already weakened cooling system. The NRC found seven of the welds "unacceptable" on Feb. 12 and then allowed the plant to resume operations a matter of days later.

I live within 30 miles of this slow nuclear hemorrhage, as do several hundred thousand other people. The surrounding area is some of the richest agricultural land in the world. Opposition to the plant is mushrooming; I fervently hope that we can get Duane Arnold shut down before it mushrooms.

—Marilyn Gathcart  
Iowa City, Ia.

## THE COST OF HEAT

READERS OF DAVID MOORE'S ARTICLE (ITT, Apr. 12) on the economics of nuclear power might be interested in the findings of Cornell economist Duane Chapman. In examining tax and price subsidies, Chapman found that California corporate income tax subsidies reduce the cost of Alaskan gas and nuclear power by 30 percent and 25 percent respectively. Other pricing taxes further subsidize these sources.

Testifying before the Congressional Joint Economic Committee (March 15, 1978), Chapman projected annual home heating costs in Los Angeles in 1985 from solar, Alaskan gas and nuclear power. At full economic cost (no subsidies) annual solar heating costs were significantly lower than Alaskan gas (\$700 for solar compared to \$750 for Alaskan gas) and approximately half that of nuclear power (\$1325). Even with present tax and pricing subsidies solar power compared favorably with Alaskan gas (\$350 and \$325 respectively) and again was about half the cost of nuclear power (\$675). The figures would be even more telling against nuclear power if decommissioning (no nuclear power plant has ever been decommissioned) and waste disposal costs had been included.

Other interesting conclusions from the Chapman study are:

(1) The present corporate income tax structure results in a negative or zero income tax for new gas and electric utility investment.

(2) Growth in solar heating and in public transportation would have a net positive impact on employment and reduce inflationary pressures.

(3) Capital and energy subsidies are received primarily by persons with incomes in excess of \$30,000.

—John Cowdy  
Morgantown, W.Va.

## HELP

WE ARE FIGHTING AN INJUSTICE! BECAUSE of our landlord's greed, we and our fellow tenants at the Dahlia Court Apartments in Carpinteria and the West-

side Apartments in Santa Barbara have been struggling for over four months to keep our homes.

Early last December, we received rental increase notices ranging from \$20 to \$25 per month and this after our landlord saved approximately \$20,000 as a result of Proposition 13! We immediately formed a tenants' union and asked our landlord to sit down and negotiate with us. The landlord has not only refused to negotiate but has responded to our legitimate request by issuing eviction notices to punish us for forming the union and withholding our rent.

The latest in a series of injustices occurred recently: a local judge issued a court order instructing us to pay our rent to the court *under the care of the landlord's attorney!* We have refused to comply with this absurd order and are now threatened with possible jail sentences and large fines.

We need the support of ITT readers in our fight against these evictions. We are all low to moderate income families with few resources at our disposal.

Please send contributions to the Legal Defense Center, Inc., 906 Garden St., Santa Barbara, Cal. 93101 (specify Dahlia Court/Westside Tenants fund). Our struggle is your struggle!

—James and Nancy Membrez  
Carpinteria, Cal.

## ABORTION

I AGREE WITH YOUR REBUTTAL (ITT, Apr. 4) to the numerous letters received by the publication concerning the abortion debate.

It is faulty to assume that the publication of a pro-life perspective demonstrates that ITT "does not consider every woman's equal access to abortion a basic right." It is faulty to assume that ITT has contributed to "the legitimization of the current anti-feminist, new right backlash." These ideas would only be valid if ITT had taken an editorial stance endorsing Moore's position.

However, a publication does not take such a stance when it prints two sides of a debate. Rather, it helps to facilitate the development of open discussions.

Open editorial discussion is essential to responsible journalism. Leftist journals keep open arenas where dialogue can occur over unresolved issues. It is critical that ITT continue to offer a forum for such concerns.

Abortion is a critical issue on which the debate is far from over. Regardless of the quality of the debaters, the abortion question is still an unresolved dilemma to many on the left. It is essential that forums be made available to people so this question can continue to be discussed.

ITT may be justly criticized for the quality of its debates, but not for posing the debated question. ITT is one of the few vehicles available that can present "reactionary" arguments and viably rebut them. Moreover, by developing articulate dialogue between opposing factions, we enhance our chances of fostering increased awareness and education culminating in social change.

—Terry Cullen  
Ganado, Ariz.

## DANGER

IT REALLY DOES NOT MAKE ANY SENSE you fighting (rightfully) nuclear energy because it might endanger people and at the same time promoting abortion, which violently and definitely takes the lives of millions of human beings. In your quiet moments, don't you ever think of such things?

—Evelyn K. Sammis  
Durham, N.C.

## PRO-LIFE SOCIALIST

THREE ANALYTICAL ERRORS OCCUR in the "ITT/Feminist" abortion debate (Apr. 4):

1) The 1973 Supreme Court abortion decision does not "simply affirm the right of abortion...in the first trimester of pregnancy." The Court declares a right to abortion *throughout* pregnancy. In the last three months the state may, if it wishes, provide limited protection for the now viable child—but only if the abortion does not serve maternal psychological or familial well-being, as defined by a physician. The first trimester is distinguished by a lack of permissible protection not for the fetus but for the pregnant woman! The decision forbids state regulation of profit-making abortion clinics in the interest of maternal health in this early period.

2) In my opinion, much (though not all) pro-abortion sentiment in this country is an expression of anti-communitarian privatism that underpins private property. It is related to the idea that children are owned by their parents, to do with as they wish. This individualism is epitomized by the insistence that the production of human life itself remain under private control.

Quite apart from what our answers may be, it seems to me that socialists in particular ought to affirm that the question of the dignity and value of new life is a public matter for common analysis and reflection. Socialist feminists ought to be distinguished from liberal feminists precisely by their greater sensitivity to the common good of nascent human life.

3) Last, I am a committed socialist who has been active for several years in the pro-life movement. I have been able to do this without qualms because, after observation and reflection, I have decided that the members of this movement (although generally conservative) are not expressing a reactionary class interest in their opposition to abortion. Their position is based, instead, on an unusually serious adherence (often because of a religious motivation) to a particular tenet of our common humanitarian morality: that one may not intentionally kill the innocent. Of course, pro-lifers are often not exceptionally conscious of our affirmative duties to our neighbors and to history. This emphasis on the "thou shalt not," as opposed to the "thou shalt," may be a moral failing. But it is one shared by all non-utilitarian moral theories, and even by some utilitarian ones. I have seen again and again that pro-lifers have been forced by discussion out of their original narrow opposition to killing the innocent, to an opposition to capital punishment and war and to a broader promotion of human welfare. This dedication to the protection of what they see as the weak and unwanted among us should be encouraged and developed in a progressive direction, rather than erroneously opposed. Even if one disagrees with their moral position, one should not be distracted by a superstructural phenomenon into an alliance with our liberal capitalist enemies, which, as you know, support abortion.

—Richard Stith  
Valparaiso, Ind.

## A STEP BACKWARD

ALTHOUGH BASED ON GOOD INTENTIONS, your editorial on the Israeli-Egyptian Peace Treaty (ITT, Mar. 21) is off base. It may appear to you that this treaty is a step in the right direction, but it may prove to be more of a side-step, and *not* help "efforts at building a Middle East commonwealth of democratic socialist societies."

The obvious reason is its failure to open any possibilities for implementation of the legitimate rights of self-determination and statehood for the Palestine people. Begin's blunt statements denying the possibility of a separate state for the Palestinians, and Sadat's meek response reflects a situation that can only frustrate a peaceful solution.

Without their participation, and Israeli recognition, the PLO will be forced

to resort to armed struggle. Though war may be postponed by piecemeal arrangements, peace can never be attained without the acquiescence of Israel's Arab neighbors. That acquiescence can be obtained only if we bring the PLO into the negotiating process and insist that the Palestinian men and women in the occupied areas are not a lesser breed but are entitled to self-determination. The so-called "autonomy" plans are an exercise in doublethink.

The treaty closes the door to the PLO, forcing them to blow it open. Too much has been asked of the Palestinians. How can we expect the PLO to recognize Israel when Begin vows to *never* allow a separate state for their national aspirations? Although I basically agree with your position that both nations (Israel and Palestine) have a right to statehood, the solution may only be postponed, not hastened by this sell-out treaty.

—Daniel Graham  
Carrboro, N.C.

## MORE RECORD STRAIGHTENING

IT IS SAD THAT DAVE MOREYNOLDS and Kenrick Kissell are still fighting "more anti-war than thou" battles (ITT, Mar. 21, 28). I will risk being equally irrelevant to correct one inaccuracy in McReynolds' statement about Michael Harrington and the Socialist Party.

While Harrington was chair of the SP when it refused to take a strong anti-war position, he and his supporters did not (as McReynolds says) "control" the Party. Harrington's faction fought the majority of social democrats as long as there appeared to be a chance of becoming the majority. The Caucus eventually lost all hope of winning control when the right wing pushed through a merger with another conservative social democratic organization. At this point, the Harrington faction pulled out.

Now that the record is straight on at least this point, let's get on with the tasks before us.

—Chuck Filippo  
Alameda, Calif.

## HELP MAKE ITT A POLITICAL AND FINANCIAL SUCCESS

IN THESE TIMES IS SEEKING TRAVELING representatives and salespeople to increase circulation, make the paper better known and to organize support groups.

Travelers will be guaranteed expenses plus a negotiable minimum salary against commissions on subscription sales. Initial work will be in Minnesota and Michigan, from July through November. Applicants must be familiar with the paper's contents and purpose, be able to meet with local trade union, co-op food store, ecology, anti-nuke and left political groups. They will also be expected to solicit local bookstores and libraries and to set up local groups of subscribers as support groups. A car is required.

Travelers will work closely with the Chicago office and subscribers throughout each state. Orientation and training is planned for late June or early July.

Interested? Please apply to James Weinstein, (312) 489-4444.

## CORRECTION

The picture on the cover of last week's issue was taken by Warren Friedman.

### Solution to last week's puzzle:

S	A	I	D	B	E	G	I	N	M	A	S	S
A	N	N	A	A	R	O	M	A	T	E	R	I
D	E	N	I	E	G	E	P	T	I	S	A	
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H	Y	M	N	S		S	H	A	L	L	Z	E
B	E	E		O	B	O	E	S	G	R	I	S
R	A	N		N	A	S	S	E	R		O	T
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I	T	E	M		T	R	A	D	E		T	I
R	E	L			S	A	D	A	T		S	I



## MANNING MARABLE

## FROM THE GRASSROOTS

## In education today "integration" wars against black equality

**PARTIALLY IN RESPONSE TO** the achievements of Black Studies, white society has escalated its attack against black education as a whole on two distinct fronts. First, federal and state governments, most private foundations and educational systems are attacking the legitimacy and even necessity of the traditional black college. White faculty have successfully sued black colleges in federal courts on the grounds of "reverse discrimination." As the overall job market for white educators declined, more opportunistic whites have pushed into traditionally all-black universities, demanding their equal share of policy-making positions, tenure and all other privileges. White undergraduate students are attending black colleges in steadily increasing numbers as tuition and inflation rates force broad sectors of the white middle class to seek alternatives to white university education.

The results are devastating for the pro-



spects of Black Studies ten years hence: a relative decline in the growth of black undergraduate student enrollment; a real decline in the numbers of black students attending all-black universities; a loss of significant political-educational power through the nominal control of black universities; and the firing or dismissal of large numbers of black faculty and administrators.

Since the majority of black activist-scholars are still at relatively early stages of their academic careers, their positions are most vulnerable to the white "reverse

discrimination" assault. The traditional black colleges educate about one-half of all black students in higher education, and employ hundreds of faculty who advocate the basic principles of Black Studies research and scholarship. The projected loss of almost one-half of all predominantly black colleges by 1990 indicates a serious reduction in the potential centers of educational power through which Black Studies can be explored and extended by black intellectuals.

The second attack, aimed at black children in public elementary and secondary schools, is the policy of school integration through the imposition of federal government guidelines. Substantial elements of the black middle class, as well as the NAACP, actively support this assault. These interests located within the liberal white and black leadership organizations argue that a quality education for black children cannot take place within an all-black environment.

I would suggest to the NAACP that, at least since the *Brown* decision of 1954 it has unerringly followed a mistaken path that equates integration with the struggle for black equality. The two principles—integration vs. the struggle against white racism—are not the same; indeed today they have become virtually contradictory.

Illustrating the current plight of the NAACP leadership was the recent address on education given in Washington, D.C., by its executive secretary Benjamin Hooks. Speaking at the eighth annual communications conference at Howard University, Hooks argued that all-black colleges should be viewed as a thing of the past. "I reject out-of-hand a separate but equal policy," he declared. "I believe all colleges should be integrated." Hooks insisted that the enrollment of large numbers of whites in traditional black universities would "strengthen" them.

Repudiating Hooks' remarks, Howard students insisted that the NAACP leadership would ultimately destroy the unique character and quality that a black univer-

sity setting provides. "We believe that the NAACP has disenfranchised the black community," one black journalism student wrote. "It has traded its shield and sword for a tin cup and organ grinder."

Objectively, Hooks makes no critical distinction between a "segregated school"—one in which blacks are unwillingly and forcibly placed—and a deliberately, positive black school in which the majority of administrators, faculty and pupils are of a single cultural and ethnic background. Integrated education without the prerequisites for a black academic agenda in the arts, literature and in leadership, is not a quality education for our children—it is a step backward.

Black Studies, and more generally the totality of black education, is the major prerequisite for the struggle for true cultural democracy and economic equality in America. Until black people acquire a separate sense of our own historical and cultural traditions, and develop a critical theory of liberation from the basis of black knowledge and thought, we cannot achieve any measure of independence or self-determination in America. We cannot seriously expect our historic oppressors to educate ourselves and our children toward a goal of black cultural integrity and human equality.

The pursuit of Black Studies in a racist society expresses a *de facto* failure of American culture and "democracy," revealing the dictatorship of a biased, narrow-minded white cultural elite that still determines the developmental path of American educational systems. Our struggle for Black Studies must become a transitional step toward our larger struggle to replace the entire educational framework of white America with a system of ethics and cultural values which will genuinely promote all the diversity and integral richness of humanity. ■

*Manning Marable is professor of history at the University of San Francisco. He is an editor of Socialist Review.*

## DIALOG

### We're not struggling to find a definition, but we are struggling

By Barbara Ehrenreich

**IN FLORENCE LEVINSOHN'S ACCOUNT OF THE DSOC/HAR-**vard-Radcliffe conference on Women and Social Justice (Inside Story, *ITT*, Apr. 18), socialist feminists come out looking like an anxious, testy bunch, desperately thrashing around for some sort of political identity. I personally come out looking (in the words of a friend who read the article) "like a nut." The piece could equally well have been entitled "Socialist Feminists Flounder at Harvard" or "Barbara Goes Berserk in Boston." "I'm sure no malice was intended. A journalist has to find a story, and a journalist who's traveled all the way from Chicago to Boston has to find a pretty good one. So you take a few phrases out of context (easy enough to do when the speakers are ad-libbing on a panel), simplify them to make for better reading and, sure enough, you've got a story: 'NAM-DSOC merger impossible,' or 'socialist feminists still thirst for theory.'"

But now that Levinsohn's story has been printed, let me at least try to clear up a few of my own positions.

On theory: "I've had it with these debates," Levinsohn quotes me, as if I had been about to walk out of the room in a temper tantrum. In fact, I had just finished calmly listing the kind of debates I've had it with: "Which came first, sex or class oppression?" "How do you merge Marxism and feminism into a per-

fectly consistent whole?" And, "Does housework produce surplus value?" Such questions, I said, represent a mystification of theory, as if feminism had to account for itself to Marxist orthodoxy.

In the mid-'70s, an estimated 20 socialist feminist women's unions became bogged down, many fatally, under the weight of such mystified, alienated "theory." What we need, I insisted at the conference, is not a theory *about* women (women as objects of theory), but theory *from* women (as subjects of history). (I now realize that a few supportive quotes from Lukacs at this point might have improved my image in *ITT*.)

However, to continue my self-paraphrase, we cannot simply go back to the old feminist slogan, "the personal is the political"—powerful as that slogan is. Because one thing we have learned in the

last ten years is that the personal is not the *universal*. If socialist feminist politics is to be a *totalistic* kind of politics, bridging individual experience with global realities, then we need to forge practical and analytical links between our local (and even personal) struggles and, for example, the struggles of peasant women in the Third World, the emerging female proletariat of (capitalist) Southeast Asia and Latin America, and so on. Plus we need to be able to address, confidently, and *as women*, issues that are not usually considered to be "women's issues"—economics, environmental, militarism, etc.

On coalitions: "Ehrenreich warned of the dangers of coalitions, of their diluting effects," reports Levinsohn. I *tried*—perhaps not too coherently—to warn against the dangers of a politics of *defensiveness*. The right gains ground whenever the left, for whatever reasons, falls back. The worst thing to do in the face of a right-wing resurgence is to shrink from public visibility and political clarity.

Building coalitions—among feminist groups, anti-nuke groups, labor groups, etc.—is necessary (and if I didn't say this loudly or lengthily enough it was because so many speakers had already done so). But building coalitions among progressive-type groups cannot substitute for the hard work of outreach and organizing. To paraphrase Eugene Dennis: Organizing is talking (and listening) to people who don't agree with you—where you work, in your neighborhood or school or whatever.

It's more comfortable and a lot less risky to go to coalition meetings with like-minded people than to, say, hit the local shopping mall with a pro-abortion petition, but that's what political action is about. If we learned anything from the '60s and early '70s, it's that new configurations of the same old people do not bring about change: change comes when large numbers of people actively and disruptively demand it.

What dismays me most about Levinsohn's account, though, is not her rendition of my personal role in the conference, but the impression she projects of socialist feminism. Maybe we will only rate in *ITT* when we have the "theory" Levinsohn sought—written in flawless

academese and bound in several volumes. But the Boston conference convinced me that socialist feminism—or left feminism, broadly speaking—is stronger and more together than ever: from Jo Freeman's economic analysis, to Leslie Cagan's hard-hitting speech on strategy, to Ruth Messinger's critique of bourgeois feminism—not to mention the contributions of hundreds of participants.

Some sharp political differences came out, which was only to be expected. What I had not expected (and was delighted to find) was that there is a clear socialist feminist identity shared by women in NAM, a number of the women in DSOC, and, of course, independent socialist feminists.

Better yet, the old questions of "What is socialist feminism?" and "What is a socialist feminist thing to do?" etc., are finally giving way to the question of "How do we put together all the things we *are* doing?" Socialist feminists are not, as Levinsohn says in her opening sentence, "struggling to find a definition for that term," but we are definitely struggling!

### Levinsohn responds:

I apologize to Barbara Ehrenreich for not having quoted her more fully. Of course, she is right. In the interest of a good story, I did not quote her as extensively as I might have. But I deeply regret that she interprets my report of the conference so negatively. Indeed, several people with whom I spoke since the article appeared were quite pleased with the optimistic tone of the report.

Certainly, theory does not have to be entombed before it is ready for delivery. Nor do socialist-feminists need to wait until the elaboration of a "theory" before they will merit my respect. I consider myself one of those socialist-feminists in search of a theory that will make sense of action taken in the name of socialist-feminism and will connect feminism to the larger socialist perspective. In the meantime, what is needed in the pages of *ITT* is more dialog on the issues. I hope that other women will write of their responses to my report.



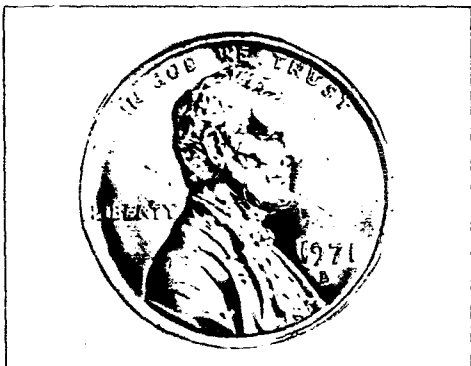
# PERSPECTIVES FOR A NEW AMERICA'S

The following is a continuation of the discussion of an American-style socialism begun by Leland Stauber's three-part series, "For a Socialism That Works" (May 3, 10, 17, 1978). Stauber's series and the responses by John H. Brown (May 31), Charles Lindblom (July 5), John Hurdesty (Aug. 9), and Seymour S. Bellin and S.M. Miller (Oct. 18) are available on request for \$1.50. Stauber's reply to his liberal and socialist critics will appear on this page in the near future.

## Leland Stauber's "socialism that works" is a capitalist facelift

By The Red Cent Collective

IN PREVIOUS ENTRIES TO this series, Leland Stauber elaborated a blueprint for a socialist economy. He is to be commended for facing difficult issues head-on. Especially important is his discussion of the disturbing features of existing socialist societies, for example, bureaucracy and the



inequities of party patronage. Nevertheless, Stauber's model fails to address the fundamental issue of socialism: empowering people to participate in making the decisions that influence their lives.

In Stauber's model, participation, especially on issues of what will be produced and how, is relegated to second-class status. He is fearful of its consequences. "Workers," he argues, "have often forced decisions against the better judgment of a manager, and then when the decision led to disaster have often blamed the manager instead of themselves."

We reject the notion that workers are dangerous to socialism. The participation that Stauber fears is exactly our starting point in any discussion about socialism in the U.S. Beginning with this premise, we feel that we are working within the long American tradition of democratic socialist and populist movements, while Stauber is placing his socialism outside it. To ignore the lessons of history, and the needs of people to shape their lives, is to subvert socialism. The discussion remains at an idealistic level far removed from daily life. At the same time it suggests political alliances that are hostile to the building of socialism. Stauber's fondness for managers, and his belief in their superior judgment, demonstrates the political danger.

This is our first criticism: that Stauber describes a socialism that is undemocratic. But this kind of socialism is inefficient as well as anti-egalitarian. These are serious charges. To support them we need to look, not at the details of the plan, but at its goals.

The innovative feature of Stauber's plan is the creation of a new "market-socialist" sector of the economy in which firms "operate exactly as private firms on a competitive and commercial basis," but with "ownership vested in a new system of investment banks owned by local governments." Stauber has two goals in mind. The first is to overcome the gross inequities of capitalism stemming from lopsided distributions of wealth and income. Inequality is certainly a critical issue in any scheme for socialism, and so far Stauber is on the right track. But when he specifies the second goal—efficiency in production—concern for inequality disappears. His ideal organization of production is not socialist in any sense: In its treatment of people in the production process it is indistinguishable from capitalist production. Workers are to be seen and not heard.

How could a committed socialist be led so far astray on so fundamental an issue?

The answer lies in Stauber's definition of efficiency, which is identical to the capitalist one.

The entire structure of his plan is based on the premise that capitalism is efficient. He argues that in capitalism a given amount of output is produced with the smallest possible use of resources and therefore at the lowest possible cost.

The first error here is in viewing production as a merely technical or physical process. Efficiency is conceived as a technological relationship between raw materials, machines and outputs, rather than as social relationships. Labor is treated, not as people at work, but as abstract input whose role in production is identical to that of machines.

This definition stems from the very nature of capitalism, in which only those inputs and outputs that command a price on the market are counted. But human needs do not necessarily have a market value. From the capitalist's point of view, the effects of the production process on workers' health and well-being can be profitably ignored.

The technical definition of efficiency also ignores the effects of production on consumers. Ford Pintos, Red Dye #2, and thalidomide are only the most dramatic examples of the neglect of the effects of consumption. Air and water pollution, chemical and radiation poisoning may be slower or less visible, but are no less dangerous.

To believe, with Stauber, that capitalist production is efficient, we must overlook its effects on people in their roles both as producers and consumers. Capitalism is not efficient. The way it decides what is produced and how is both wasteful and harmful. This conclusion seems fairly obvious. Why, then, is the argument so often made that capitalism is indeed efficient?

Capitalist production is "efficient" for some purposes, namely to make profits. It costs money to make the workplace safe, to prevent pollution, or to turn out safe and useful products. From the point of view of the capitalist, it makes sense to ignore social costs.

Unfortunately for the rest of us, social costs do count. Ignoring them blinds the capitalists to the inefficiency of their own economic system.

The physical or technical view of efficiency takes the existing technology as value-free. In reality, a major factor in the development of technology has been the attempt to use technology to control workers and intensify their exploitation. So Henry Ford introduces an automated

assembly line, which moves continuously, regardless of workers' attempts to interrupt production. Or modern corporations install computers that control the pacing and timing of machinery and work tasks.

The problem for capitalists is that the technology that maximizes control does not necessarily maximize efficiency, even in the physical sense of the word. The existence of a huge bureaucracy of managers and supervisors, whose primary purpose is to control and manage workers, is hardly "efficient."

Stauber's argument that his plan will lead to the more equitable distribution of wealth and power is not convincing. In fact, he combines anti-capitalist rhetoric and a call for class warfare with a proposal for an economic system that will reproduce the divisions and inequalities he seeks to end.

What Stauber fails to recognize is that the link between production and distribution in his plan is very similar to their linkage under capitalism. In both systems, production is for profit, and more profit is made when wages are lower. Stauber's socialist firm has a stake in maintaining low wages for its workers. But not for its managers! The system depends on managers saving it from the workers, and keeping it "efficient," so managers will have higher wages. Within each firm, there is inequality of wages arising from a division of labor along the lines of a division into classes. Profit is the criterion of success, and the managers reap the benefits of success.

There is also inequality among firms. The basis of the system is the expropriation and redistribution of assets to publicly-owned local banks. While the rules of redistribution are unspecified, it will presumably be more equal than under the present system. But even if it starts out more equal, it won't stay that way. If profit is the goal of the system, assets will tend to accumulate in those firms and localities that for historical reasons are more successful at making profits. These fortunate firms can use the banking system to invest and expand their profits, thereby growing at the expense of less profitable firms. And in this plan the less fortunate ones have no recourse.

This brings us to our final point about socialism and distribution. The role of the state in the market socialist sector is to maintain efficient production. But the measure of efficiency is, again, profitability. The function of the state, then, is to protect profits, which means to amplify, not counteract, the inequalitarian effects on income.

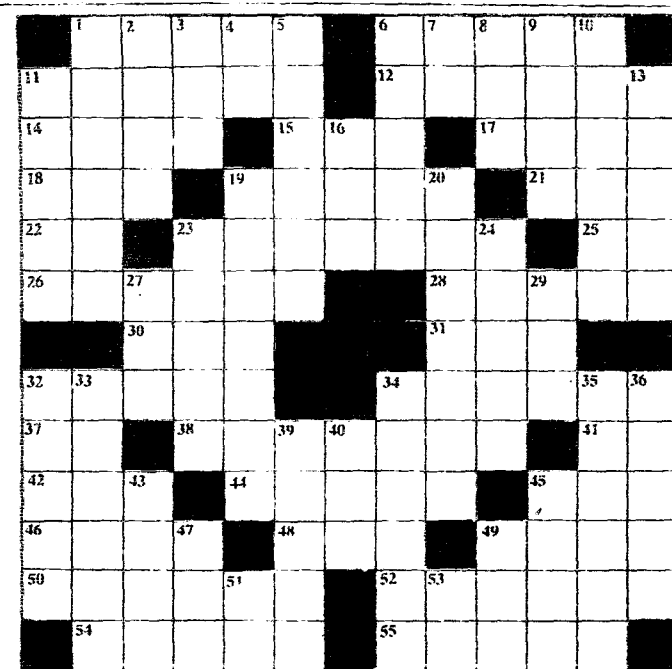
Stauber's scheme offers neither an efficient nor a just society, nor the conditions for democracy. The source of its failure is the mistaken notion that capitalist production is efficient.

More important, Stauber is impressed by capitalist production because it attempts to relegate workers to passivity. And so does his blueprint.

Stauber's "socialism that works" does not get to the root of the failures of capitalism. It is, in the end, only a facelift for a capitalism that doesn't work. Even worse, it fails the test of a vision worth fighting for. It is a plan for a new society which is neither classless nor particularly democratic. It poses as its dominant concern the question of efficiency and technology, and in so doing repeats the errors of capitalist economics. The overriding fact of social life is overlooked, namely, that production produces people as well as goods.

These criticisms do not merely point to some logical holes in Stauber's theory. They identify serious and dangerous implications for politics today. The dominance of "efficiency," and the belief that workers would mess it up if allowed to participate, define a clear class allegiance in Stauber's political position. It is not an allegiance to the working class but to its enemies. His message is disturbingly consistent with the emerging economic and social ideology of corporate capitalism. While there is no doubt that Stauber himself is a committed socialist, he would do well to examine carefully the company he keeps.

The Red Cent Collective is a group of economists at the University of Massachusetts, Amherst, including Sam Bowles, Bob Buchele, Harry Cocaine, Diane Flaherty, Herbert Gintis, David Kotz, Michele Naples, Karen Pfeiffer, Tom Riddell, Nancy Rose, Juliet Schor, and Steve Schulman.



## Political Potpourri

By Jay Shepherd

### ACROSS

- 1 U.S. ambassador to UN (1953-60): Henry \_\_\_\_\_
- 6 Oldest women's college in the Far West
- 11 \_\_\_\_\_ grills
- 12 Small interstice
- 14 Heavenly bodies
- 15 Soak, as flax
- 17 Max Beerbohm's brother: Sir Herbert B. \_\_\_\_\_
- 18 Where (L.)
- 19 American carnivore with a long, ringed tail
- 21 \_\_\_\_\_ Hammerskjold
- 22 Symbol for radium
- 23 Carter, Brown, Weicker, Connally: all possible candidates in the 1980

### DOWN

- 2 presidential \_\_\_\_\_ ?
- 25 Six to Caesar
- 26 Chant in a monotone
- 28 Namesakes of one of the apostles
- 30 Annoy
- 31 Popular pub drink
- 32 Village of South African natives
- 34 The \_\_\_\_\_ Waterway along U.S. east coast
- 37 Exclamation
- 38 Cooling summer drink
- 41 Group that aids alcoholics: abbr.
- 42 One of Disney's seven dwarfs
- 44 Standards or patterns
- 45 Time zone in the east

### ACROSS

- 46 Not known someone from \_\_\_\_\_ (be unacquainted)
- 48 Type of steak
- 49 Irish Gaelic
- 50 Family of fishes attaching themselves to ships
- 52 Cuba and Jamaica: socialist islands in the West \_\_\_\_\_
- 54 Writer and illustrator: Ernst Thompson \_\_\_\_\_
- 55 Encouragement

### DOWN

- 1 Offering made in fulfillment of a vow
- 2 Prefix with dexterity and lateral
- 3 Encore, in music
- 4 \_\_\_\_\_ and \_\_\_\_\_ (at great length)
- 5 Former film star:

- 6 Having a dull surface (of paper)
- 7 Prefix: not
- 8 Without \_\_\_\_\_ or hindrance
- 9 Former stage actress: Pauline \_\_\_\_\_
- 10 "Sleep that knits up the ravelled \_\_\_\_\_ of care" (Macbeth)
- 11 Paradise virgin promised to all faithful Muslims
- 13 Sponsorship
- 16 Consume
- 19 American zoologist who helped organize Woods Hole marine laboratory
- 20 Cuba and Jamaica: two socialist \_\_\_\_\_ in the West 52 Across
- 23 Scene of a fierce battle in the South Pacific during WWII: the \_\_\_\_\_ Sea
- 24 Fine net for millinery
- 27 Aunt, in Mexico City
- 29 New Zealand parrot
- 32 Second son of Ishmael
- 33 Aegean island or an Arizona Congressman
- 34 Certain poetic meter
- 35 Anwar Sadat's predecessor
- 36 Particular periods of time
- 39 American painter of marine subjects
- 40 Popular Verdi aria: "\_\_\_\_\_ tu"
- 43 \_\_\_\_\_ about (occurred)
- 45 One of the Great Lakes
- 47 Witicism
- 49 Dutch commune
- 51 British observatory (abbr.)
- 53 Neighbor of Vt.



# Israeli dove's peace views

Continued from page 10.

autonomy would lead, sooner or later, to a Palestinian state. They think it would be better to explore with the PLO the possibilities of such a solution without interference from Egypt or the U.S.

**Do you think the Camp David framework is adequate for moving toward a solution of the Palestinian situation?**

In the first stage, yes. But the best chance for peace is ultimately to draw in all the parties concerned.

**That would mean permitting the PLO to have their people run for office and be politically free in the towns of the West Bank and Gaza?**

As a matter of fact, they have been free to do so since 1975, when we had the elections in the towns and villages in the West Bank and Gaza. The PLO in Beirut did not take any official stand: they did not call for a boycott of the elections, and they did not call the popula-

known for their support of the PLO put forward their candidates and they were elected. They had a landslide victory in the elections.

We had a discussion with the Palestinians in September 1978. There were 15 Palestinians, leaders of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, and we had 15 Israelis, very prominent Israelis. And we asked them: Why do you totally reject autonomy? Autonomy will and must lead to independence. This is an historic law: Autonomy sooner or later leads to independence. They answered that if autonomy contains a clause guaranteeing free elections and the right to self-determination at the end, they are ready to discuss it. They will not discuss it if autonomy is formulated to prevent such a development.

This seems to be Begin's tendency. He is working out an autonomy plan to retain lands in the hands of the Israeli government and the right of Israel to proceed with Jewish settlements in the West Bank.

This the Palestinians are not going to accept.

**What would the Labour Party be prepared to offer?**

They are in the process of a discussion, and some Labour leaders have begun to think of exploratory talks with the PLO. There are quite a number of Israelis who favor a Palestinian state in the West Bank and Gaza, on several conditions: first, that the state would be demilitarized. Second, that it be neutralized—it would sign a treaty of the kind Austria has signed with the Soviet Union, a commitment not to allow foreign bases, not to enter alliances with a power hostile to Israel. Third would be recognition and peace with Israel. Fourth would be economic and cultural cooperation in working for the solution of the refugee problem. Under these conditions, quite a few Israelis would be ready to agree to a Palestinian state. But only on these conditions.

**Do you think that the revolution in Iran might strengthen the PLO?**

In the short term it has boosted the prestige of the PLO. [PLO leader Yasir] Arafat was the first Arab statesman to visit Tehran and received a wholehearted welcome. But, in practice, I don't think it amounts to much, because Iran will be faced, and is faced already, with enormous domestic problems.

In the longer term, I believe that the example of Iran, of a popular uprising destroying a powerful military machine of oppression, is going to stimulate other people in the Middle East and there are a number of outdated, autocratic regimes in a number of Arab countries, and certainly the Iranian example will serve for them as a kind of stimulus to try to do the same, I am convinced of it.

**In the U.S., some people on the left are against an Egyptian-Israeli-Palestinian peace because they see it as conservative. They're for continuing turbulence. They say that continued conflict between Israel and the Palestinians, is good for revolution. So you have an equation: Middle Eastern war is left-wing, peace is right-wing.**

I don't share that view. The most rev-

olutionary event that could happen in the Middle East is peace, because this would allow social struggles to develop along class lines. Without peace, social struggles are diverted into nationalist channels.

We've had wars for the last 30 years, and there has been no progress toward socialism.

**How would you characterize the regimes in Syria and Iraq?**

They are radical nationalist regimes, not socialist. They want to keep the area out of great power control. Iran is the same. They want to modernize their countries, to take them out of the feudal age, to develop technology, industry, to modernize. They use socialist revolutionary phraseology, but in fact these are dictatorial regimes that will not allow democracy to develop, even within the classes on which their regimes are based. There is no democracy in Syria, there is no democracy in Iraq.

**How would you characterize the Israeli social system?**

Israeli society is capitalist. It contains developed working-class elements. It also contains highly developed forms of social life undertaken by left-wing socialists, like the kibbutzim. But the society itself is typically capitalist, although there is no big business in Israel. The only big business is the defense industry.

Histadrut [the national trade union organization] has developed cooperatives, but they work within a capitalist framework. They are subordinated to the laws of competition, the law of profit, like the kibbutzim. The kibbutzim are a fantastic success from the economic point of view. But the fact that the people inside the kibbutz live in a socialist society—even more, a communist society—does not change the character of the whole society, which is capitalist.

They are doing very well, but they do not change the economic and social system. They can further the cause of socialism only to the extent that they constitute a political force working for the reformation of society. Not by being a kibbutz; only by a political struggle in conjunction with the rest of the working class. ■

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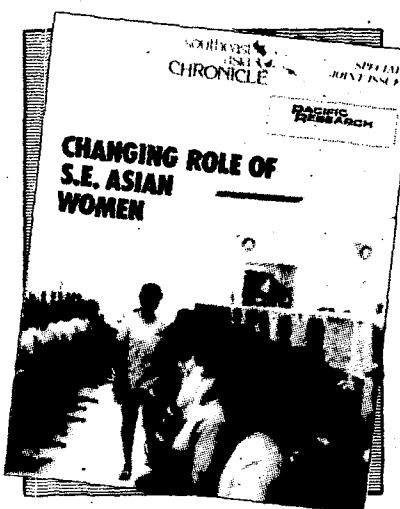
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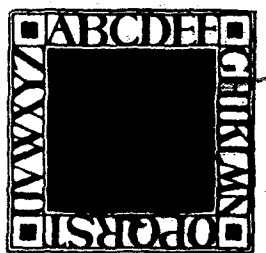
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## LIFE IN THE U.S.

## THE PRESS

Small is beautiful  
for newspaper that  
exposed Synanon

By Jon Stewart

**A**T FIRST GLANCE, IT'S A classic David and Goliath story: the tiny, gutsy weekly crossing swords with an organization so powerful it has effectively muzzled the rest of the American press. Undeterred, the weekly *Point Reyes Light*, with an editorial staff of three, persists and triumphs where its big city brethren retreated in fear. It is rewarded with the Pulitzer Prize for public service.

It sounds heart-warming, even romantic. In fact, it is acutely troubling. Why was it left to a country weekly with a circulation of 2,700 to mount an investigative crusade against Synanon, when every journalist and government investigator in the West knew it was a potentially explosive — potentially award-winning — story?

Three days after the first champagne cork popped at the *Point Reyes Light* on April 16 in celebration of the Pulitzer award, publishers David and Cathy Mitchell sat down with a reporter to talk at length about why they covered the Synanon story, how they covered it and why others with far more resources failed.

"There are an incredible number of people in this county (Marin) who are scared to death that some night at midnight they'll get a knock on the door from Synanon," says tall, bearded Dave Mitchell, the paper's editor, chief writer, photographer and janitor. "That's why we did the story."

The Mitchells were not even aware that the huge Synanon organization had its headquarters just eight miles from Point Reyes Station when they bought the weekly *Light* in August 1975. The Synanon complex occupies two nearby "ranches" consisting of living quarters, schools, work buildings and even a private dump and airstrip. It is as large or larger than any of the small towns along the Marin

coast, and probably wealthier than all of them put together.

That wealth, the Mitchells soon found, was buying Synanon some uncommon privilege in terms of government regulators and investigators often looking the other way. (When Mitchell recently complained that Synanon had no permits for the dump or landing strip, the organization flatly denied to the county that they had a dump or landing strip. An aerial photo of the strip, printed in the *Light*, hangs on the wall over Mitchell's desk.)

"I'll bet I could name 20 different government investigators who have tried to look into Synanon only to be pulled off it by their bosses," said Mitchell.

"At one time there were a couple of Sheriff's deputies who were secretly investigating Synanon, hoping the Sheriff wouldn't find out. That's how crazy it got."

When an ex-Synanon member was brutally beaten near the Synanon property last year, two reserve deputies, appointed by the Sheriff, were assigned to investigate. As the *Light* later revealed, they were both Synanon members themselves and had witnessed the beating.

In March 1973, things seemed to come to a head with the issue of a county grand jury report that was highly critical of Synanon for alleged child mistreatment, amassing of weapons and business practices unbecoming to a non-profit charitable foundation.

"We tried to substantiate the things in the grand jury report and found that it had only scratched the surface," said Mitchell. "But the reaction to the report was surprising. The county department heads attacked the report and the Synanon members began harassing the grand jurors. The county emerged as an ally of Synanon against the grand jury."

**No regulation.**

Mitchell reserves his most bitter criticisms for the state agency charged with regulating charitable foundations such as Syna-

leta Parra. Two thousand people were there. The theater was packed, and 95 percent of the audience was working class. And yet the place was surrounded by secret police. I was 16 police cars, each with four men in them taking pictures and writing down names—but nobody was intimidated.

"I wondered how they could pay the price of the concert—\$4, in a country where the minimum wage is \$40 a month, and food is as expensive as it is here. I asked my companion about it.

"A man nearby heard me and said, 'You are comrade Letelier, are you not? We know who you are. You're doing well—keep on with it. You said you would not rest until the criminals are brought to justice for your husband's murder, and you still have work to do.

"You do your work and we will do ours. Just enjoy being here. Yes, the tickets are expensive. I may go for days without eating because of this concert. But this is part of our resistance.

"We must do this. It is our way of keeping our minds alive, and our hearts burning."

*The Dead Are Not Silent, made by the documentary team of Heynowski and Scheumann, is not in distribution yet, and is currently being used as a fundraiser; proceeds go to the Letelier-Moffitt Fund for Human Rights.*



The Mitchells get the news of their Pulitzer Prize for investigative journalism; Ralph Craib congratulates them.

non. Synanon founder Chuck Dederich, he claims, "defrauded a charity (Synanon) of some \$1 million over several years." The Attorney General's office is now "negotiating" with Dederich's attorneys for the return of the money.

"If there is one arch-villain in this story—an unindicted co-conspirator—it's the charitable trust division of the Attorney General's office," said Mitchell.

Mitchell believes that some of the same factors that made the bureaucracy go soft on Synanon—fear of lawsuits and the fear of being exposed as incompetent bureaucrats—also held back the local metropolitan dailies.

Several years earlier, the San Francisco *Examiner*, a Hearst paper, had paid out a \$2.6 million settlement to Synanon following a lawsuit over a series of stories on the organization. With that success in pocket, Synanon's powerful legal staff proceeded to file a slew of enormous lawsuits against other papers, TV networks and magazines that tried to write about the foundation.

The upshot, said San Francisco *Chronicle* reporter Ralph Craib, who nominated the *Light* for the Pulitzer, was that "major news organizations were unwilling to risk the inevitable litigation certain to be pursued by an organization with a 48-member legal staff."

But if Synanon's lawyers could muzzle the rest of the American press, how did the little *Point Reyes Light* manage to keep printing tough, hard-hitting stories week after week, month after month?

"Nothing has ever happened to us," said Cathy Mitchell—no lawsuits, no threats of lawsuits, no legal demands for retractions. "We've sort of been in the eye of the hurricane."

Did Synanon dismiss the *Light* as inconsequential? Hardly, since the paper was sharing its information and files with journalists from the networks, the wire services, the major dailies and magazines, which continued occasional coverage of Synanon activities.

**Size is the problem.**

But Mitchell believes that his paper's size did have everything to do with why they got away with it. "Synanon always tried to play the 'little guy,'" he said, "the victim of the big media. If they tried to play that game with us, they would be the big guy."

Also, he says, "Synanon presumably knows our stuff is 99 percent accurate. So say they file a suit against us and we get a motion for summary dismissal. If we get a judgment, Synanon is up shit creek. The threat of being sued by Synanon wouldn't mean anything to anybody anymore."

And there's another size factor, Mitchell says. "As a paper becomes bigger it becomes more and more bureaucratic. The big dailies were terrified to do anything on Synanon without clearance from their legal departments."

Mitchell cites the story he ran last year following the rattlesnake attack on attorney Morantz, in which the *Light* was the first to name sources saying that Dederich had ordered the attack. "The *Los Angeles Times* reporter, who's a first-rate reporter, called to see what we had and we told her. She came up with the same story but it took three weeks to get it cleared and printed because of the paper's legal staff."

"It's a problem that big papers have created for themselves," he says. "They don't have to be that bureaucratic. Bigness is the problem. Ironically, part of Synanon's problem is the size of their legal staff."

The *Light*'s legal staff consists of a "college chum" local lawyer who agrees to look over copy for libel in exchange for an occasional pizza. "He sometimes suggests little changes, which usually improve the story," says Cathy Mitchell. "Only once has he told me not to run a story."

But if smallness is a virtue, why haven't other small papers gone after Synanon?

"One did," said Mitchell. "The *Visalia Times* in Tulare County," where Synanon has another major complex, "ran some stories and was promptly sued. It happens they're owned by the Scripps organization," a major newspaper chain.

Cathy Mitchell believes the bureaucratic problems of large papers run even deeper than the legal departments. "Big dailies get dull; they find a formula that works for them and they won't risk anything. Small weeklies," she said, "are the places where you can be creative and daring."

The *Point Reyes Light* and its publishers may not be the typical small-town weekly. The Mitchells have masters degrees in journalism from Stanford, good experience on urban dailies, and a capacity for outrage that could humble Ralph Nader. And Point Reyes Station is not the average middle American town. It's a quaint coastal community of ranchers and counter-culture young people in one of America's richest counties.

Yet for all the exceptions, Dave and Cathy Mitchell and the *Point Reyes Light* have given a new proof to the not-so-old cliché that small is beautiful, especially when big is timid. "With the Pulitzer, we may get another 100 subscribers," said Mitchell.

(© 1979 Pacific News Service)

Jon Stewart, a PNS editor, has covered Synanon for PNS and a Paris daily.

## CHILE

Continued from page 24.

accepted the junta. At the National Chile Center, Susan Borenstein told IN THESE TIMES that the extradition proceedings are "framed in the background of the most open mass resistance in Chile." Fifty women—including the widow of Pablo Neruda and Gabriela Lorca, whose missing husband was a top Socialist Party official—last week chained themselves to the Ministry of Justice in Santiago, while simultaneously, hunger strikes began in two nearby churches. Planned May Day demonstrations have been supported by every political party, including the junta's own federation, UNTRACH; crowds of 25,000 are expected.

On a week-long surprise visit to Chile in November, Isabel Letelier also found a sturdy spirit of resistance.

"The people of Chile have suffered and endured so much. They have matured—they don't want to be considered victims. They want to know what kinds of actions people are doing overseas—what you are doing. People even asked me if there was any way they could help you in your work.

"They host extraordinary concerts, poetry and theater. One evening I attended an homage to political folksinger Vio-



## ART &amp; ENTERTAINMENT

## COMMUNICATIONS BILL



Will future viewers be able to turn off the media power than Van Deeren (in television) would turn on with his Communications Act?

## Networks look forward to feds' hand-off policy

By Michael Massing

A public broadcasting system supported by commercial advertising? Such is one of the more shocking proposals of a major piece of communications legislation introduced in the House of Representatives at the end of March. If the measure becomes law, as expected, public television and radio would be permitted to allot up to 3 percent of each broadcast to commercial messages.

While startling in itself, the recommendation is but a sliver of a massive, controversial bill that would radically restructure the U.S. communications system. HR-3333 purports to rewrite the Communications Act of 1934, the legal bedrock of the nation's communications industry, and it will likely provide a framework for developments in the field through the remainder of this century and into the next.

Addressing such complicated and sensitive matters as how to regulate broadcasting, cable television and the telephone industry, the 200-page bill has been two years in the making, and they have been stormy. HR-3333 is the second version of the bill to emerge from the House Communications Subcommittee under the guidance of its chairman, Lionel Van Deeren (D-CA), himself a former TV journalist. The first draft, introduced last June, provoked such a storm of protest from both ends of the political spectrum that it has been substantially rewritten.

Given the prodigious lobbying power of the National Association of Broadcasters (NAB), the industry's chief trade organization, it should come as no surprise that the current version defers even more to the aspirations of the private sector than did the initial rewrite—which itself was regarded as a giant step backward by public-interest representatives urging increased public ac-

countability for users of airwaves. One of these, Dr. Everett Parker, director of the communications division of the United Church of Christ, called the original draft the "greatest give-away" of public domain since the Teapot Dome scandal. To describe the new proposal, Parker might have to go back to the Louisiana Purchase.

### Worse than the disease.

The Van Deeren bill represents another gain for Washington's apostles of deregulation. The tonic being administered to the airlines, trucking and rail industries has now been prescribed for communications—with the difference that in this case the cure promises to be worse than the disease. The bill would jettison the standard that has prevailed since the 1934 act—that the airwaves be used in accord with "public interest, convenience or necessity." In its place, the marketplace would become the chief arbiter of the social good.

Few would argue that the current regulatory structure has been effective in securing the public interest in television and radio. But instead of streamlining current procedures—in the direction, say, of making local communities rather than the FCC the chief overseer of station performance—the communications rewrite would free broadcasters to roam wherever they please.

Do you think there are too many commercials on TV now? Or that local stations have been more intent on making profits than in producing original programming? Or that too few documentaries appear on the tube? Commercial television and radio would likely reach even more exasperating heights if HR-3333 becomes the law of the land.

Under the bill, radio would be completely deregulated at once. Rather than require station owners to apply to the FCC every three years for a renewal of their licenses—which citizen groups can challenge if they feel the sta-

tion has been remiss in meeting its public interest obligations—the legislation would grant licenses in perpetuity, subject to revocation only for technical violations. A radio station could thus change its format at will, comfortable in the knowledge that the public would have no legal grounds for protest. Most stations would rush to serve the 18-to-49-year-old market, where most advertising bucks lie.

Television licenses would also become permanent, after a ten-year period. The FCC would lose its authority to enforce equal opportunity standards in employment, promising a rough time for minorities. Stations would no longer be constrained by the "fairness doctrine," which, after 30 years of litigation, has developed into a benchmark for balanced reporting in controversial programming. Of course, such a standard would probably prove unnecessary anyway, since the bill would free stations of any obligation to provide public affairs or news programming to begin with.

The proposed rewrite does include one provision that hits licensees where it hurts—in their pocketbooks. All TV and radio broadcasters would have to pay a "spectrum-use" fee, a type of tax on revenues. A station would be required to pay 0.25 percent of annual revenues under \$1 million, plus 2.5 percent of revenues between \$1-10 million, plus 10 percent of revenues exceeding \$10 million. Thus a station with gross revenues of, say, \$20 million a year would pay \$1,227,000 when the tax took full effect, ten years after the bill's passage. Overall, the fee would deliver an estimated \$150 million a year into federal coffers. The NAB has predictably raised hell over this provision and has massed its substantial resources against it, but Van Deeren has vowed the bill will not be passed without it.

The move toward deregulation has started from the assumption

that the breakneck pace of technological progress in the communications industry has rendered the old ground rules obsolete. Indeed, the 1934 Communications Act became outmoded almost as soon as it was enacted. It doesn't even mention television, which had not yet been introduced commercially, much less satellites, cable TV, home video and other elements in the new technological mix.

### High tech, more options.

According to the common wisdom on Capitol Hill, these new communications media are expanding the number and diversity of potential programming sources in American society. Cable systems now offer subscribers 20-40 channels from which to choose. Satellites enable local stations to beam programs to other outlets across the country, in effect creating their own networks (so-called "super stations"). Home video players open up a new realm of programming, including material whose appeal might be too narrow to make it onto television.

Will unfettered competition promote diversity? The House subcommittee might want to consider the following facts:

- In the top 50 TV markets, ten media conglomerates control stations that together account for roughly half the total viewing audience and half of all revenues generated in those markets.

- The three networks provide approximately two-thirds of all programming aired on local stations. They do not accept independently-produced public affairs programming. In addition, each network owns and operates five stations located in the country's most lucrative markets.

- Television licenses cost \$100 million or more in major cities. Radio licenses, too, generally cost millions.

- Minority groups own but two of the more than 500 commercial VHF stations (and one of those is in the Virgin Islands). And they own only about 60 of the more than 7,300 commercial radio stations in the country.

Of all the rewrite's weaknesses, none is more serious than the omission of all mention of the networks. A preliminary draft of the bill reportedly contained a provision that would have limited network ownership in the top 50 markets to three stations, down from five—itsself a minimal improvement—but the requirement was dropped from the final version. In doing so, the subcommittee demonstrates how little it has learned from the past. The

1934 act made the same glaring omission, and American viewers have been paying the price ever since.

At a press conference held to announce the new bill, Van Deeren explained the neglect of the networks by asserting that new technology, especially satellite transmission of programming, will itself diminish the importance of the networks, making regulation of them unnecessary. In ten years, said the California Democrat, "You're not going to recognize television as it is today." A more likely explanation is that excising the networks significantly improves the bill's chances of passage.

### Increasing concentration.

At present, any individual or company can own no more than 14 radio stations; if the bill passes, the sky would be the limit. And crossownership regulations that now prohibit an individual from owning both a station and newspaper in the same market would go by the boards.

The Van Deeren bill would also free broadcasters to own cable systems (they can't now). And the federal government would be denied the right to mandate cable access for community or educational groups, as the FCC attempted to do through a ruling in 1976. That regulation, by the way, was struck down recently by the Supreme Court, which ruled that the FCC lacked the power to require such access because the Communications Act gave it no regulatory mandate over cable TV—a sorry state of affairs that the rewrite would perpetuate.

In addition to enthusiasm shown by FCC chairman Charles Ferris, Van Deeren has gained bipartisan support in his own subcommittee, as well as in the Senate (where two other deregulatory bills have also been introduced). And two weeks ago he picked up tacit support from the White House, as President Carter picked the annual conference of the NAB to announce his program for regulatory "reform." Passage of HR-3333 could come as early as late 1979.

The basis for Van Deeren's success, of course, is no secret. The bill is so favorable to broadcast interests that they will likely come around even on the spectrum fee, accepting it as a necessary payment for the right to engage in the licentious behavior that deregulation would make possible. Van Deeren has called the transaction a "trade-off." Others might term it prostitution.

## CULTURE SHOCK

### UH HUH

Paul Krassner reports: Baba Ram Dass (who no longer goes by the name of Formerly Richard Alpert) recently held a public burning of his personal memorabilia and tangible evidence of his identity. A film was made of the ceremony.

### FOR '70S SURVIVORS ONLY

The first rock'n'roll disco has been opened in New York, for "former disco

people who have learned rock'n'roll, but who program it as disco." Many requests are received for Blondie's "Heart of Glass" with the disco mix.

### RADIOACTIVE CLOUD, SILVER LINING

Advertising Age reports that nuclear execs are launching a pro-nuke ad campaign based on the lack of deaths at Three Mile Island. One called the accident a "blessing in disguise."

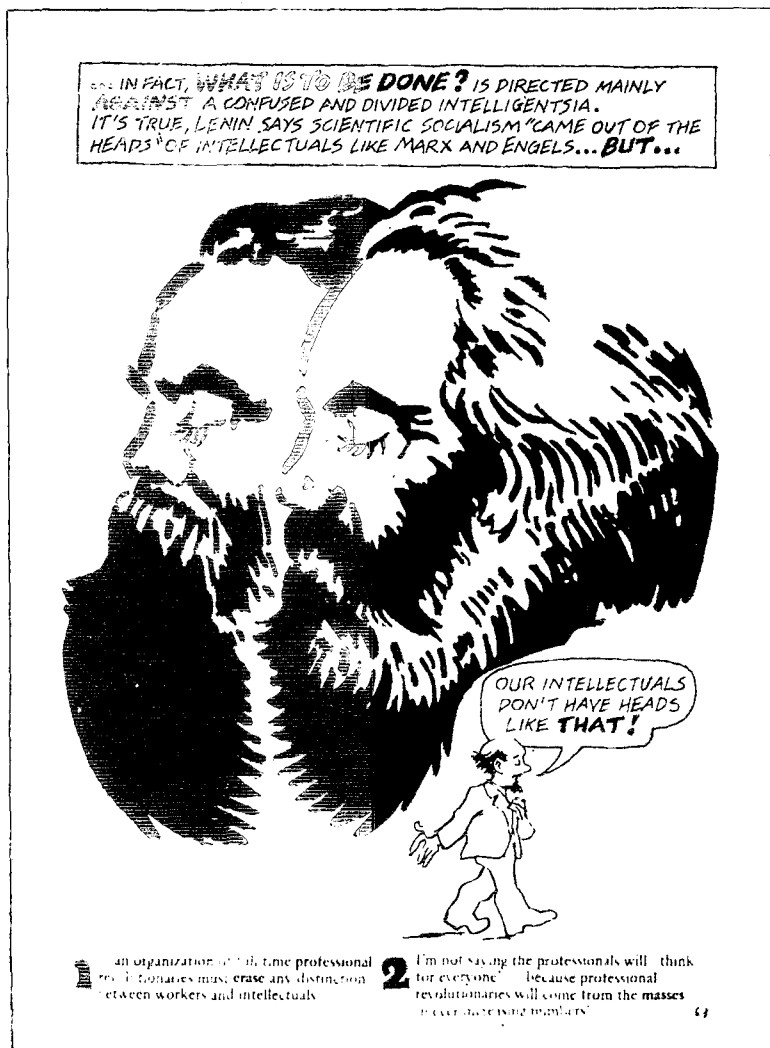


### DUKE OF EARL, MAYBE

During Bill Haley's London concerts fans rioted in protest to his billing as "King of Rock'n'Roll." Apparently Elvis still holds the title.



## POLITICAL COMICS

Beyond Classics comics  
with Marx and Lenin

LENIN FOR BEGINNERS speaks down to readers.

By Paul Thomas

A comic-book treatment of Marx and Lenin? The mere idea seems sure to raise some eyebrows. Guardians of high moral seriousness and revolutionary purists might actually agree on something, for once: on a set of responses to *Marx for Beginners* and *Lenin for Beginners* (both from Pantheon, \$2.95) that range from upset to outrage.

If comic books are supposed to make us laugh, the predictable response will be that Marx and Lenin are anything but figures of fun. They occupy some rarified realm; once we have attained this level, we are entitled to smile, knowingly, at Marx and Lenin's own (usually sarcastic, always political) wit, but nothing more.

If, on the other hand, comic books are supposed not to amuse but to instruct, like the "elevating" Classics Comics of the '50s, the chorus will give earnest, high-minded assurances that comic book format cheapens and trivializes the political and intellectual stature of great historical figures.

Yet both objections miss the mark. Neither "documentary comic book" trivializes or caricatures its subject at all. A novice might have much to gain from either of them; they are accurate enough (or no more inaccurate than many ostensibly "learned" treatments), and their authors have done their homework well enough for (almost) anybody.

Sound but different.

Both books are products of the (Editors) Writers' and Readers' Publishing Co.'s, a new, issued simultaneously by Pantheon in similar-looking American paperback editions. Yet the two are quite dissimilar, even the similarity in format finally breaks down.

*Marx for Beginners* is a trans-

lation dating from 1976 of *Marx para principiantes* by "Rius"—pen-name of Mexican artist Eduardo del Rio. Rius, whose often spare, always funny draftsmanship is a real delight, inspired but played no other part in the production of *Lenin for Beginners*. More's the pity, since it would have been a better book with his help. *Lenin for Beginners* is the outcome of a collaboration between Richard Appignanesi, who had translated Rius' book, and Oscar Zarate, an Argentinian artist now living in London.

"A and Z," as they call themselves, revised *Lenin for Beginners*, presumably for an American readership, in 1978. *Marx for Beginners* was not revised and retains an unmistakably (though unobtrusively) British slant (the only English-speaking politician whose name appears among the many "great names inspired by Marx" is...Harry Pollitt). Yet *Marx for Beginners* is the more approachable, and by far the funnier, of the two books. Rius sets the tone in his preface.

What?! Try to summarize Marx? That's not only a sacrilege (as most "academic" Marxists will say) but a complete waste of time—because comrade Karl

is supposed to be completely beyond the range of simple minds.

Maybe so, maybe not. But I've written this book anyway, on the principle that the worst kind of battle is the one not confronted.

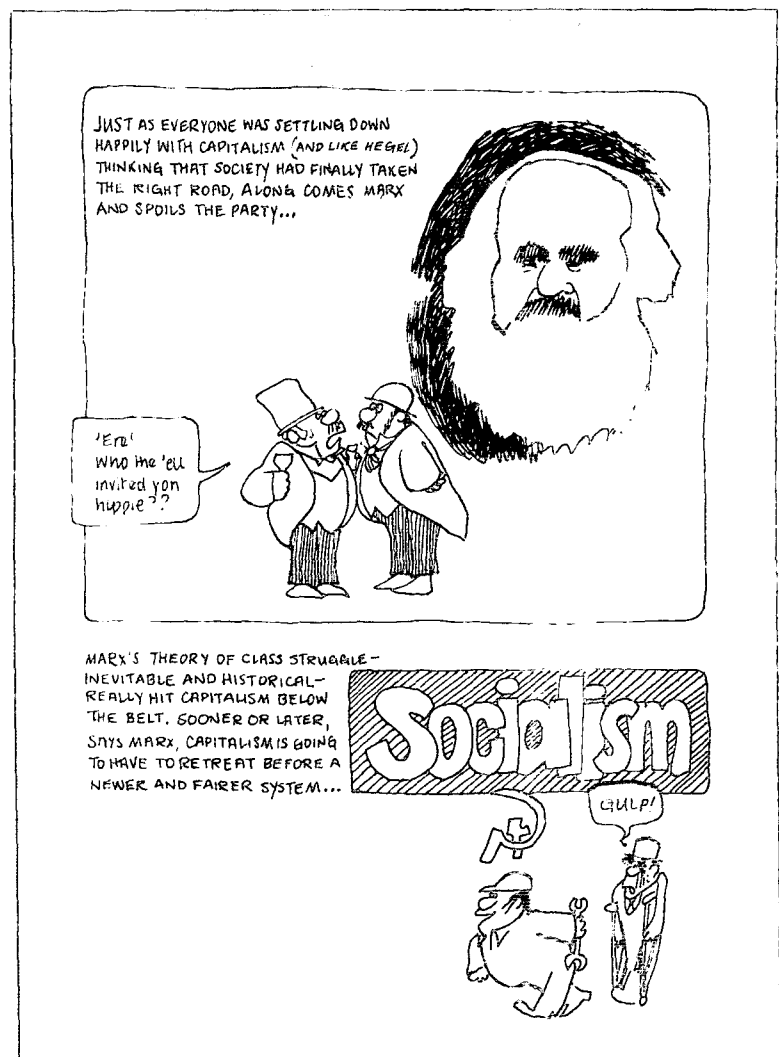
Rius has sufficient lack of pretention to assume the mantle of the interested beginner. And he has the capacity to ask the basic question that many a specialist obfuscates. Rius, most unlike "A and Z," also recognizes that this mantle, if it is to be worn at all, must be worn lightly. He pokes fun at his own approach, and is canny enough (where, once again, "A and Z" are not) to anticipate the obvious objections some people are going to level against the idea of Marxism-by-pictures. Throughout *Marx for Beginners* figures—often standing in for Rius himself—occupy the sidelines and margins of his comic frames, commenting on and questioning the suppositions of the "action."

These figures take a variety of forms. Representatives of Mexican anti-clericalism—simpering monks, black-hooded axemen, and pompous prelates in their robes—gulp in embarrassment as Marx hits home a point. Doughty English workers scratch their cloth-capped heads in puzzlement at points of doctrine. Well-heeled bourgeois are no less British in their striped trousers "Here! Who the 'ell invited you, hippie?" says one to a picture of Marx with beard and flowing mane). We also get Uncle Sam ("Yankee imperialism"), knights, gnomes and Greek charioteers discussing Democritus.

## Gnomic Lenin.

These figures are conspicuous by their absence from *Lenin for Beginners*, in which the only character on the sidelines—on the sidelines of his own actions!—is an oddly gnomic-looking Lenin. *Lenin for Beginners* is the more informative and straightforward of the two books. But it's also much less funny than Rius' book. Its drawings are heavier, darker, although its visual sources are more varied—there's more photography and photomontage, and dreadful socialist-realist academic art, straightforwardly portraying Lenin-the-leader.

But the real difference from *Marx for Beginners* is the seriousness with which the Lenin-portrayal is taken throughout. While *Marx for Beginners* plays with presuming nothing (even the term "avant garde" is defined at one point), *Lenin for Beginners* presumes too much. By failing to



MARX FOR BEGINNERS pokes fun at its own approach.

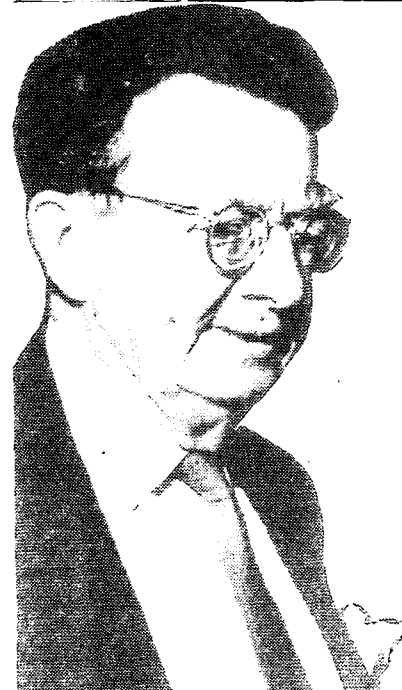
Revolutionary purists will  
object, but they will be wrong.

pose the question—even lightheartedly—why Lenin should be approached at all in this kind of format, *Lenin for Beginners* speaks down to its readers.

Perhaps the calculation was that Rius having done the groundwork, *Lenin* needed only to build on the success of *Marx for Beginners* (which has been translated into five languages). But A and Z only undercut Rius' strength.

They may have thought that Rius had established a serious, thoughtful lightheartedness for them; but this is something we all have to do for ourselves.

Paul Thomas teaches political theory and Marxism at the University of California, Berkeley. His book, *Karl Marx and the Anarchists*, is being published by Routledge and Kegan Paul.

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## TELEVISION

## Ike: only mock heroics

By Albert Auster

In the upcoming ABC-TV mini-series *Ike* (May 3,4,6) producer, writer and co-director Melville Shavelson substitutes Hollywood cliches for the drama of truth.

*Ike* begins on the day the Japanese attacked Pearl Harbor. After a sentimental farewell with Mamie, Ike (Robert Duvall) goes to Washington for a meeting with the Army Chief of Staff Gen. George C. Marshall (Dana Andrews). The meeting is filled with the customary World War II movie bluff and bluster. The younger officer wants a field command but the older, wiser officer says he'll do his duty and sit behind a desk if that's what's necessary. Although this isn't far from the truth, it isn't the whole truth.

A closer look at the Ike-Marshall scene might have included the fact that while the pre-World

War II Army was never rigidly factionalized it was nevertheless made up of two fairly well-defined cabals: the Marshall group (officers who served under Marshall and owed allegiance to him) and the MacArthur men (officers like Eisenhower who served with MacArthur and were loyal to him). The antagonism between the two men went back to World War I when MacArthur felt that Marshall (then Gen. Pershing's chief logistics officer) had barred his way to promotion and criticized him behind his back. The hostility went so deep that MacArthur even tried to block Marshall's appointment as Chief of Staff.

Why was Eisenhower considered for an important job on Marshall's staff? Quite simply, Marshall wanted access to someone privy to MacArthur's thinking, and Eisenhower had spent years as MacArthur's chief of staff. The big surprise for Mar-

*Ike (Robert Duvall) and Kay Summersby (Lee Remick) avoid impropriety.*

shall was that Eisenhower, always on the look-out for the main chance, was his own man rather than a MacArthur loyalist. This prompted Marshall to take Eisenhower under his own wing. Unfortunately for the drama, Shavelson preferred mock heroics to service politics. And from this point on, Shavelson's script completely loses touch with reality. For instance, in hurried sequences we get the very junior staff member Eisenhower lecturing to the Joint Chiefs on the necessity of a cross-channel invasion as if it were his own idea. And once Ike is head of the

American Expeditionary Force, he easily uses his Kansas cunning to outwit the British and humble the French.

These fabrications can hint at the truth in a way they were never meant to. For example, although the series uses stock WWII newsreel footage and Lowell Thomas voice-overs to convey the reality of the war and the menace of the Nazis, we somehow get the notion that the real enemy was the British. This idea is fostered by the Machiavellian tactics of Winston Churchill (Wensley Pitney) in trying to forestall the second front, and the supercilious attitude of

Montgomery (Ian Richardson) toward the capabilities of American troops. This comes accidentally close to reality; American priorities in the war were (1) defeating the Axis, and (2) substituting a Pax Americana for the Pax Britannica (leaving dealing with the Russians a poor third).

This glancing blow at the truth is as close as *Ike* cares to get. Most of the time is spent down-playing Ike's warlord status, pushing his disdain for the Nazis. At one point in the program much is made of Ike's refusal to meet with the Nazi generals to accept their surrender. The series never mentions the fact that when it came to stooping to conquer Ike had few peers. He had no trouble dealing with fascists like the Vichyite Marshall Darlan, Mussolini's Marshall Badoglio, or arming the Greek right to slaughter the Greek left.

However, the real reason for all this historical gloss is not so much to tell the story of WWII as much as to tell a version of Ike's love affair with his World War II aide Kay Summersby Morgan. News of Ike's dalliance with the "Cleopatra of County Cork" first leaked into print in

*Continued on page 23.*

## CLASSIFIED

## PUBLICATIONS

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## MUSIC



# Improbable improvisations

By Kenneth Terry

Dashing off complicated figures and difficult cross-rhythms, composer/performer Frederic Rzewski is running through the solo part of Beethoven's Piano Concerto No. 4, adding improvised passages as he goes along. When he gets to the cadenza of the first movement, he simply ignores the printed score and invents his own cadenza.

For a few moments, in the semi-darkened rehearsal room of Woodstock's Creative Music Studio, one can imagine what this over-familiar work might have sounded like 170 years ago to listeners who had never heard it before.

Beethoven often improvised at his concerts, and, according to Rzewski, his great predecessor improvised the solo part at the Fourth Concerto's premiere. "Improvisation is the soul of classical music," states the thin, wiry, intense composer, his plain work clothes contrasting with his highly educated manner of speaking. "In every great performance of classical music, there's a considerable amount of improvising."

This is the key to understanding Rzewski's own compositions. Blending classical styles with jazz and pop influences, his work exhibits a degree of melodic inspiration and rhythmic vitality rare in contemporary classical music. The spontaneous eclecticism of Rzewski's music is related to his experiments with improvisation.

Rzewski began to explore improvisation in the mid-'60s, when he co-founded a European improvising group named Musica Elettronica Viva (MEV). Over the years, a number of jazz musicians have jammed with MEV, including Anthony Braxton and Karl Hans Berger, who founded the Creative Music Studio (CMS) in 1971. Rzewski has taught at

CMS since its inception, and some of his MEV colleagues have also participated in the workshops there for students with jazz and classical backgrounds.

When Rzewski is not performing or teaching in the U.S., he can usually be found in Rome, where he has made his home for most of the past 18 years. There he often plays with expatriate jazz musicians like Steve Lacy, Evan Parker, Kenny Wheeler and Roswell Rudd. He also spends one week a month teaching class in improvisation at the Conservatory of Liege in Belgium.

With his European and American contacts in both the jazz and classical fields, Rzewski has served as a catalyst for improved communications between the two camps. At CMS, for instance, he is the link between avant garde performers like Ursula Oppens, Rolf Scholte, Harvey Sollberger and the Schoenberg String Quartet, and new jazz players, among them Carla Bley, Sam Rivers, Jack DeJohnette, Leroy Jenkins, Oliver Lake and Jeanne Lee.

## Commitment to change.

Rzewski transcends conventional boundaries in several ways. His commitment to social and political change can be seen in compositions with names like "Coming Together/Attica" and "The People United Will Never Be Defeated." The composer also views improvisation as a revolt against the hierarchical relationship between classical performers and composers.

Rzewski rejects the popular notion of art as a separate world of imagination that is "a form of protest in itself.... This is a dangerously simple view of things," he notes, "and many artists and intellectuals have looked for something more solidly based in real social movements."

This awareness first had an impact on Rzewski's music—which until then had been serial-influenced—at about the time that

MEV was formed. "Like a lot of people," he recalls, "I got caught up in the furious energy of the student movement of the '60s in Europe. Around 1968, in countries like France and Italy, it actually seemed as though vast, sweeping changes could be imminent. It was quite believable. I remember one enormous demonstration in Rome in the fall of 1969. Over 100,000 metalworkers from all over Italy marched through Rome carrying bells and pipes and buckets and chains, cooking up an enormous racket. It was one of the most amazing sounds I've ever heard."

"At that time," he says, "we were opening up the musical structure as much as possible, first throwing away the score and then throwing away any kind of structure. For example, we invited the audience to bring songs to a forum we called the sound pool. We'd invite people to bring sounds to the concert and throw them into the pool. Very often, there would be 300 or 400 people making these sounds, and we would try to steer it in some way."

Meanwhile, Rzewski remembers, other improvising avant garde groups were springing up in Europe, including Neuphonic Art, which featured Vinco Globokar, the Yugoslav trombonist, and Michel Portal, a reed player known in both jazz and classical circles. In addition, Karlheinz Stockhausen, who, along with John Cage, had pioneered "chance" music, was also experimenting with improvisation.

According to Rzewski, the composers of his generation were less influenced by "chance" music than they were by the "free" jazz that was beginning to emerge in the '60s. "Many of the experiments that were undertaken by composers like Stockhausen and Cage failed to attract a large audience or a following among the younger composers, because of the dryness and rigidity and formalism of their methods."

"On the other hand, the similar experiments that were going on in the jazz community at about the same time, led by people like Coleman and Coltrane, were more successful in the sense that a scientific experiment succeeds or fails. The improvising schools of thought were able to find simpler solutions. Therefore, they drew larger audiences and, I think, stimulated greater activity among young people."

It wasn't until about 1964 that Rzewski became aware of these jazz musicians. Not only had his training been strictly classical, he explains, but there was very little contact between the jazz and classical worlds during the '50s. In 1958, when he graduated from Harvard, "we were just coming out of McCarthyism, and things were very much locked up in boxes. I doubt whether Ornette Cole-

man had heard much about John Cage or Christian Wolff, either."

Wolff, a close friend of Rzewski, introduced him to Cage's music when both of them were at Harvard; he also shared Rzewski's enthusiasm for the work of Boulez and Stockhausen. In the early '60s, following Cage's trail, Wolff began to devise a notation for improvisation in which pitches were given, but instrumentation and exact rhythmic articulation are left undetermined. In some cases, Wolff also left open the option of whether or not to play certain lines.

## New notations.

Lately, Rzewski has been thinking of other ways to simplify scores for improvising musicians. "I've been trying to work out a system whereby it would be possible to notate a melodic figure, not in terms of absolute pitches, but in terms of intervals, so that you could read that melody in any key—a possibility that traditional musical notation does not provide us with," he says. "Now, singers are able to transpose freely; but instrumentalists have this problem with fingering. You need some kind of notation that would dispense with the absolute pitches altogether." Unless some type of notation is used, Rzewski points out, there are built-in limitations to the levels of complexity that can be obtained.

Nevertheless, Rzewski feels it is imperative to free the orchestra from the control of the composer. "We're all fumbling toward a new approach to the orchestra, away from the old 19th century classical approach, or even the big band approach, if you want to look at it from the viewpoint of the jazz tradition.... There's a feeling among many musicians that it's possible to arrive at a concept of the orchestra as a social unit built up from below."

Isn't there a contradiction between this view of music and the fact that only a small group of people is interested in Rzewski's work? "Of course," replies the composer. "Certainly there's a contradiction there, and it's only by facing it that one has any hope of changing things."

"The important thing is to get past the notion that an individual can, with his own resources, make any significant progress on solving a problem that is social in nature. This is one of the biggest hurdles that artists have to overcome—the idea that art alone can solve problems that really need other forms of action." ■

# Eisenhower

Continued from page 22.

Harry Truman's oral autobiography *Plain Speaking*. Truman mentioned a letter from Eisenhower to Marshall at the end of the war requesting Marshall's permission to divorce Mamie and marry Kay. The puritanical Marshall wrote Ike that if he did it, Marshall would hound him for the rest of his life. There was clearly a bit of malice in Truman's report since he still smarted from Richard Nixon's attacks on him in 1952 (for which he blamed Ike). So to set the record straight Summersby wrote her own version of the affair in *Past Forgetting: My Affair with Dwight D. Eisenhower*.

In *Ike* Summersby (Lee Remick) exchanges furtive glances with Eisenhower, holds hands with him supportively, and sometimes they even say things lovers might say, but there is never a hint of impropriety. (In her book,

Summersby reported that when she and Ike made love he was impotent and blamed it on Mamie.) Most of their tenderest moments come in automobiles with Kay driving and Eisenhower in the back seat, and Kay refers to herself as the "Virgin Mary at Armageddon." Nonetheless, when the time came and Kay had to go, Ike gave her the brush off. What neither Kay nor the mini-series understood was that, like other WWII generals (Patton, MacArthur, Montgomery), Ike's only real love affair was with himself.

Shavelson has the facts but refuses to deal with them. His script also isn't helped by Robert Duvall, who plays Ike in a manner of a top sergeant rather than a Supreme Commander, or Lee Remick, who confuses being headstrong with sexuality. Not only isn't *Ike* accurate about history, it can't even tell its old Army stories well. ■



# ISABEL LETELIER: CONSCIENCE IN EXILE

By Pat Aufderheide

IT SEEMS LIKE ISABEL LETELIER, widow of one-time Chilean ambassador to the U.S. Orlando Letelier, is trying to mix oil and water. In city after city, she introduces moral issues to the stockholders' meetings of major banks (see sidebar).

She can show, with her own life story, that in Chile, oil and water, moral issues and economics, mix in public every day. The junta's brutality fuels its main attraction for foreign corporations: cheap labor, no strikes. And bank loans make the brutality possible.

Isabel Letelier's sorrows have become some of the most memorable incidents of the military junta that overthrew the elected government of socialist president Salvador Allende. Now there is a documentary film in which Letelier and another widow, Moy de Toha (whose husband Jose was vice-president to Allende at one point) frankly and simply tell their stories.

*The Dead Are Not Silent*, an 80-minute documentary made by two veteran East German filmmakers in Mexico in summer 1977, serves as a fundraiser and as evidence for her campaign against bank investment. Technically bargain-basement, stylistically old-fashioned, its make-do quality only enhances the authenticity of the statements it captures.

Sitting politely in plain chairs in front of a blank wall, the women tell simple stories from their past, some of them almost unbearably sad. They recall how they went to Pinochet after the coup, to insist that they receive word from their husbands. Moy de Toha tells how Jose Toha's funeral became a public demonstration of hostility to the regime. Isabel Letelier remembers Orlando's description of sitting in a cell after the coup, listening to the footsteps and single gun shots that, every seven minutes, meant the execution of another colleague. She also recalls arriving at the Washington hospital and insisting—against the advice of horrified doctors—on visiting the piecemeal remains of her husband. "I shall not forget his face," she says. "It was the face of all his comrades murdered."

The women's remarks are illustrated with news footage and contraband film from Chile. We also see letters, photos and objects they have saved. Moy de Toha shows us a silver plate engraved to her husband, "with sincere affection, from Augusto Pinochet." Isabel Letelier proudly wears a stone carved by her husband in prison camp; the very act of wearing it was an act of defiance. We see official documents, and personal thank-you notes from Pinochet.

Their comments help explain the person behind the atrocities. Pinochet, someone they both knew well, is drawn here as "flattering and servile," short-sightedly shrewd and petty. "I remember my husband saying that Pinochet reminded him of a man who rushes up to brush off your coat and then asks you for a tip," says Moy de Toha.

The filmmakers intended this personal approach "to win film audiences we have up till now been unable to reach on the

theme of Chile." And indeed the film has received favorable comment in the mainstream press. Tom Dowling wrote in the *Washington Star*, for instance, "A neutral audience responds more readily to the dignified sorrow and anger of a human soul than to a deluge of ranting political slogans."

But the women and the filmmakers succeed in going beyond a simple appeal to the heart. The women communicate an urgent sense of making history. They refer to "historic documents"; they recall precise places, times and phrases; they perceive the film as a memoir.

They see themselves not only as widows and as actors in a political drama, but as preservers of truth in a world of images put out by expensive public relations firms. The women give us confidence that a human truth is still possible in such a world.

This truth has a firm social context for both women. They emphasize several points. One is that the junta has assassination lists; their husbands were only two of many on the junta's hit list of people who knew too much about Chile's defense department. Another is that Chile's military is not monolithic; both women received help repeatedly from people within it. Finally, the goal that infuses the film is to express—in a way that will move people to press our government to declare Chile a terrorist regime—the human cost of this misrule.

One of the reasons the film succeeds is the gentle lucidity with which both women approach their suffering. Their attitudes never discount personal pain, but acknowledge it as one example of a hideous process. With their work, says Isabel Letelier, "we are preventing more tragedies."

How is it that this woman sustains herself? She explained to IN THESE TIMES:

"When you know who your enemy is, and why things happen, you are prepared to keep your work going. If you

ask yourself, 'Why did this tragedy happen to me?' I guess you can never get over it. You will victimize yourself. You will develop an attitude of simple revenge. But we know what interests are behind these tragedies, and we know that the military are puppets—the corporations are the ones having a heyday."

*The Dead Are Not Silent* ends with Is-



abel Letelier's comment about the military people who have helped her: "Pinochet would not sleep well if he knew who these people are."

Indeed, she pointed out to filmgoers after one Chicago showing, Pinochet is under attack both abroad and at home. The U.S. government has pressured the junta into admitting a Chilean role in the murder of Orlando Letelier. Last month, three men involved in the murder were convicted in a Washington federal court.

But Pinochet's reluctant and partial cooperation with U.S. legal procedures (enforced by the threat of withdrawing American diplomatic presence) does not mean, she emphasized, a change of heart.

"You know," she said with some exasperation, "Americans must learn how to read newspapers. Friends tell me, 'Congratulations, Isabel, things are changing a lot in your country.' I get angry and say to them, 'Well, congratulations to you! Nixon has been behaving lately. Will you be giving him back the White House now?'"

The U.S. State Department has now pressed for extradition of alleged conspirators in the Letelier-Moffitt murder, including the head of the Chilean secret police, Gen. Manuel Contreras. Chile's Supreme Court is expected to rule on the issue any day, and to take advice from a special prosecutor to grant no extradition, nor a trial inside the country.

But if Pinochet has not been converted to human rights by recent U.S. legal moves, neither has the Chilean people

*Continued on page 19.*

## Dividends of guilt

When the annual stockholders' meeting of First Chicago Corporation convened on April 20, some unlikely stockholders were in the audience. Leaving friends to picket outside the building, members of the Chicago Committee to Save Lives in Chile, the Chicago Coalition on South Africa and Clergy and Laity Concerned proposed that First Chicago cease loans to Chile and disclose their lending policies in South Africa.

Speaking for the first proposal, Isabel Letelier, president of the Chile Committee for Human Rights, reminded stockholders that the junta "operates an international terrorist network to silence its opponents." She pointed out that the bomb planted by Chilean secret agents that killed her husband also killed an American, Ronni Karpen Moffitt. In 1978, First National Bank of Chicago loaned at least \$77 million to an effectively terrorist government. It and other private banks loaned Chile over 80 percent of its outside capital last year. Further, she pointed out, private bank loans undercut American foreign policy. The U.S. cut off military aid and cut down economic aid to Chile in 1976. Last year Sen. Kennedy introduced bill S-3631, which attempts to prevent private banks from loaning to congressionally-cited human rights violators.

William J. McDonough, head of the bank's international banking department, responded: "The bank opposes oppressive governments everywhere. But it also is against economic boycotts against any country. 'Credit worthiness' is the issue, and we determine loans on that basis." McDonough further argued that "supporting economic growth of Chile is one way of creating an atmosphere for democracy."

Ron Freund from Clergy and Laity Concerned called for support of disclosure of loans to South Africa, citing a nationwide campaign. The National Union of Hospital and Health Care Employees, for instance, withdrew \$7.5 million from Citibank; Berkeley voters recently voted to pull city deposits from banks that loan to South Africa; and similar resolutions have been introduced in the Chicago City Council and the Illinois House of Representatives.

A. Robert Abboud, First Chicago board chairman, cut off discussion and quickly called for a vote. Ninety-seven percent of the proxies were cast against the two proposals. After the meeting McDonough said, "The management runs the bank and tells the board what it is doing. The board simply says yes or no." And yes, in this case, was simpler than no.

—Laura Cianci